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Number 4

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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JANUARY, 1926

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Editorial

THE JOURNAL'S MAJORITY

The fact that New Year's Day, the day of taking account of stock, has again come round, and that the CLASSICAL JOURNAL is well along in its twenty-first volume make a few retrospective reflections on the part of the editors peculiarly appropriate.

As we review the now fast lengthening past, we feel justified in believing that the JOURNAL has attained a position of solid success; and that, not alone because it has survived for twenty-one years (though in the life of any publication that is no mean feat), but especially because it has kept pace with the growth of the Classical Association whose organ it is, and has served at once as the mouth-piece and historian of that organization in all its important advances. Has the Association made the JOURNAL, or has the JOURNAL made the Association? It has rather been a case of mutual dependence and mutual creation. Neither could have thriven without the other. It has been a case of Siamese twins.

In a sense, the Association is the creator and the JOURNAL is the creature, and this it has always held itself to be. The Association is the living, human, active personality, compounded of such group of its members as assembles at the annual meeting, there to instruct and to be instructed by the reading and hearing of papers, to gain what encouragement and inspiration may come from the congenial mingling of those of like calling and profession, and to transact all necessary business.

But that group is small. Rarely do more than ten per cent of our membership assemble at the annual meeting. This means that for the remaining ninety per cent either the Association does not exist at all, or it exists only through the mediation of the JOURNAL. For here may be read the papers presented at the general meeting, as well as other products of our creative members, and, a most real service to the "shut aways," a monthly account of the clever and helpful things that are being done in the far-flung classrooms to enliven and strengthen the daily work. From this angle the JOURNAL is of vital importance, as many a letter from some solitary teacher gratefully testifies. It is itself a creator of classical values for those who read and use it.

The JOURNAL is the mouth-piece not alone of the Association as an organization, but of the Association's individual members. To these it is the outlet, in many cases the only outlet, to publication of the manuscript product of their labors. Here again is a case of mutual dependence and creation. These articles do indeed make the JOURNAL, since they furnish the grain for its grinding; but, on the other hand, the JOURNAL in a very real sense makes the articles. Few books and papers would be brought to the condition of a finished product if it were certain that they never could see the light of publication. And it is this available outlet, we have no hesitancy in saying, that has stimulated the remarkable fertility of production which the last quarter-century has witnessed. May this go on until all teachers are producers! We wish especially that more publishable material might come from the secondary schools; and this, not merely papers of the pedagogical type, though these, if well considered, are of great value, but studies that spring out of contact with the familiar authors themselves. Let that tree produce its fruit. And better yet: why should not those who feel that daily and too great familiarity with those same authors fails to inspire creative work (though we must deplore such failure) — why should not these teachers seek refreshment and inspiration to creation from other authors and other fields less familiar?

The JOURNAL is glad to feel that it has had its appeal to stu-

dents also as well as to teachers, and wishes that this appeal might become more general. There are many articles appearing from month to month which are especially helpful to the ambitious and serious student, and teachers in school and college frequently refer their students to these. It has been proposed from time to time that a department of the JOURNAL, be edited especially for students and open to student contributions. While this might serve a useful purpose, the already limited space available to present needs, and the already wide diversity of departments would seem to make the addition of the proposed department unfeasible.

Nevertheless, the JOURNAL, while maintaining a certain constancy of form and purpose, should still have enough flexibility to conform to new conditions and to meet new needs. It welcomes suggestions as well as contributions from its readers, and is only desirous of serving more and more effectively the needs of those who monthly await its coming.

CICERO'S CONCEPTION OF LITERARY ART¹

By ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY

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In view of recent books on Ciceronian rhetoric it may seem a bit presuming to follow so closely with another treatment of the same subject. Yet there may be something individual about a first-hand study of a topic, or something refreshing about a new point of view. That the following paper possesses these characteristics in fair measure I may venture to hope. For in reading Cicero's *Correspondence* I have often run across a reference to a letter as being "a very pretty bit of writing" or to an essay as being "an especial favorite" of his. I have long wanted to make a study of the critical principles lying at the basis of such comments as these; hence this investigation into Cicero's conception of literary art.

Quite naturally, in this report of my findings oratory gets most attention, for aside from what rules of composition Cicero refers to casually in his letters or exemplifies purposely in his essays, our chief source of material is to be found in the three score orations he left and in the half-dozen treatises on oratory he wrote. Most important among the latter are the *Brutus*, in which he cursorily recounts the history of his profession; the *Orator*, in which he summarily systematizes the facts of his technique; and the *De Oratore*, in which he artistically lets us into the secrets of his art.

With this by way of preface, I shall now try to show what Cicero holds to be the chief elements of oratorical writing, what he thinks should go into the making of an orator, and what principle of composition he used in turning the dead data of rhetoric into a work of literary art.

¹The President's address, read at the annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Friday, November 28, 1924.

The answer to the first of these questions, he who runs may read, for Cicero repeatedly divides the function of the orator into three parts:² to inform, to interest, and to persuade. This division corresponds to the stylistic classification of clarity, variety, and emotional appeal. That Cicero would apply these qualities to literary composition in general as well as to oratory in particular we are warranted in assuming when we remember this fine bit from the *Tusculan Disputations*:³ "For anyone to publish thoughts which he can neither arrange skilfully nor illustrate entertainingly is an unbridled abuse of letters and retirement."⁴ In fact, he calls the essay the nurse of oratory⁵ and puts history in the same category.

Taking up these traits of style in their order, let us see what produces clearness in a composition. Cicero's answer to this question is that it is necessary to have a plan. Not only do we find him using a plan in favorite works of his such as his letter to Marius, the *Essay on Old Age*, and the *Oration for Cluentius*; but, specifically, in such critical treatises as the *De Oratore*, the *Orator*, and the *Brutus*, do we hear him insisting on the use of an outline. "Every orator," he says in the *De Oratore*, "will speak in set form."⁶ He reiterates this statement in the *Brutus*, where he maintains that every defense is to be conducted upon one uniform plan.⁷ He holds that a man who cannot apply the outline in every particular is entirely incapacitated to excel as an orator,⁸ and that no amount of understanding can make up for a

² *Brut.* 185: *ut doceatur, ut delectetur, ut moveatur.* Cf. *Or.* 69; *De Or.* II, 115; 121; 128; 310.

³ *Tusc. Dis.* I, 6: *Sed mandare quemquam litteris cogitationes suas, qui eas nec disponere nec illustrare possit nec delectatione aliqua adlicere lectorem, hominis est intemperanter abutentis et otio et litteris.*

⁴ In my rendering of passages from Cicero I owe much to the *Bohn* translators.

⁵ *Or.* 37: *Nutrix oratoris.* Cf. *De Or.* II, 49-57.

⁶ *De Or.* I, 64: *composite.*

⁷ *Brut.* 209: *membra suo quaeque loco locata.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 214: *In quacunque una (i. e. of the five parts of the oratorical outline) plane clauderet, orator esse non posset.*

lack of organization.⁹ In this unequivocal language does Cicero state the case for an outline.

"But," some one will say, "why talk about the necessity of a plan? The rules of an art are self-evident." So thought Cicero, as appears from a remark in the *De Oratore*.¹⁰ But when we remember that mankind generally, and this generation especially, balks at technique and that not all scientists speak intelligibly,¹¹ we shall appreciate Cicero's insistence upon careful organization.

Since the traditional outline for the oration is familiar to all, we can leave off further discussion of clarity and pass on to variety — the quality of style designed to please. Cicero divides this stylistic principle into diversity of structure and embellishment of thought. He lays great stress on the need of variety in composition. He calls that quality a distinguishing trait of the orator.¹² He criticises¹³ the historian Antipater for failing to use it and points out to his brother Quintus and his friend Lucceius the opportunities for its application in an account of the British campaign or in a history of the Catilinarian conspiracy.¹⁴

In fact, he has a great flair for the diverse possibilities of a situation. He goes to the theater and congratulates an absent friend upon being able to read the classics at his pleasure; whereas the spectators have to put up with what can pass the Board of Censors. He gets a fit of indigestion from overeating at a vegetarian dinner and laughs at himself for being taken in by a beet and a mallow; whereas he has always prided himself upon withstanding the allurements of the oyster and other such fashionable delicacies.

This penchant of Cicero for variety appears in his use of situations, digressions, characters, and humor. The situations mani-

⁹ *De Or.* I, 63: *neque si optime sciat ignarusque sit faciundae ac poliendae orationis, diserte id ipsum, de quo sciat, posse dicere.*

¹⁰ *De Or.* II, 79: *ante oculos posita.*

¹¹ H. R. Wilson on the style of Hunter and Faraday, *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XX, p. 91 (Nov., 1924).

¹² *Brut.* 82: *oratorum propria opera.* Cf. *Or.* 108: *hanc, quam probo, varietatem.*

¹³ *De Or.* II, 54: *neque distinxit historiam varietate colorum.*

¹⁴ *Fam.* V, 12.

fest themselves in the settings of his essays and the narratives of his orations. Among the former the most artistic of all is the introduction to the second book of the *De Legibus*. In it Cicero lets us refresh ourselves for a moment in the waters of the Liris as an interlude between heavy discussions on law and the nature thereof. No less felicitous are his narratives, which fulfil his ideal of a witty brevity in contrast to the lifeless brevity of the annalist.¹⁵ Sandwiched in between the rolling periods of his introductions and the heavy diatribes of his argument, they confound the critics who talk about the Ciceronian style; as if he could not suit his style to the occasion!

Akin to the use of settings and narratives is that of digressions. In the essays they often bring relief amid a succession of more or less monotonous details as when in the *Brutus* Cicero breaks his review of third-rate orators with a brilliant résumé of his own education. In the orations, too, digressions serve the same purpose. When the orator sees his audience beginning to weary with his fulsome laudations of his client or his endless berating of his opponent, he starts to "flay the *Populares*" or to laud the *mos maiorum* in a way that carries his hearers off their feet and "makes the shores of Epirus resound with his thunderings." In this manner do situations and digressions contribute to the marvelous versatility that runs like the red herring-line throughout Cicero's works.

Even more strikingly stands out Cicero's feeling for variety in the way he contrasts characters. It is no matter whether in his essays he is pitting the scholar Crassus against the self-made Antonius; or in his letters he is matching his idealized conception of Pompey with the discredited catspaw of the masterful Caesar; or whether in the orations he is comparing the sturdy fellows of Milo's levy with the ragged hoodlums of Clodius's gang, characterizing provincial witnesses in his *Verrine* orations as honorable gentlemen or in his *Pro Flacco* as veritable nobodies, writing Verres down as the embodiment of gubernatorial rapacity and writing Flaccus up as a paragon of empire-builders, — in all these

¹⁵ *De Or.* II, 326 f.

strokes of character-sketching, Cicero shows an unerring eye for contrast that places him among the world's great masters of *chi-aro-scuro*.

If variety in the use of settings and characters is the spice of Cicero's style, surely humor is the salt that savors the whole, and should round up our discussion of contrast, for the essence of humor lies in incongruity. What advice Cicero has to give on this topic is largely negative in its intent. He maintains that wit is peculiarly a gift of nature.¹⁶ He thinks that an educated gentleman can discourse upon any subject more wittily than upon wit itself,¹⁷ and he holds that a talent for humor is incapable of being communicated by teaching,¹⁸ for he finds that there is nothing laughable about textbooks on humor except their folly.¹⁹ Hence he concludes that it can be taught by no rules of art.²⁰

Still there is a positive side to this subject; for Cicero would sprinkle the whole oration with a certain humorous and urbane charm.²¹ He finds one precept worthy of recording — namely, that due regard should be paid to persons, times, and circumstances, lest jesting detract from dignity.²² There were lapses, to be sure, from this ideal of decorous wit as when he perpetrates a peculiarly atrocious jibe at Clodius and his sister. Still, he must have been reasonably successful as a humorist; for Caesar made a collection of his *bons mots* and the elite of Rome thronged his morning receptions to laugh at his repartee.

Besides, there is the evidence of Cicero's works, for the strong odor of his Verrine broth²³ — a pun on double homonyms; *Verrēs* meaning "Verres" and "wild boar;" and *ius*, meaning "justice" and "juice" fails to overcome the delicate savor of his wit at its best, as when he excuses himself for making an impu-

¹⁶ *De Or.* II, 216: *naturae sunt propria certe.*

¹⁷ *De Or.* II, 217: *omni de re facilius quam de ipsis faciliis.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 218: *nullo modo videtur doctrina posse tradi.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 217: *ut nihil aliud eorum nisi ipsa insulsitas rideatur.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 227: *facetias arte nullo modo posse tradi.*

²¹ *De Or.* I, 159: *facetiarum quidam lepos quo tamquam sale perspergatur omnis oratio.*

²² *De Or.* II, 229: *haberi rationem oportere hominum, rei, temporis.*

²³ *In Verrem*, Act. II, I, 121: *ius Verrinum.*

dent request in writing on the score that a letter doesn't blush, or when he finds his finances in such bad shape that he threatens to imitate Catiline in getting up a conspiracy for the abolition of debts. Again we note Cicero's sense of the incongruous in his charging Verres with being such a devotee of the gods that he stole all their statues in Sicily, or in his twitting his friend Trebatius with not having caught a glimpse of the British war chariots though at home he would never miss a popular show. Aside from these scattered citations there are many letters such as those to the wag Paetus and entire orations like the *Pro Flacco* that exemplify Cicero's ideal of humorous treatment. This review of the way Cicero handled situations, digressions, characters, and humor, shows how he managed the structure of his literary compositions so as to attract his hearers.

With structural diversity Cicero pairs stylistic embellishments as the second element of variety. He has much to say about this element of style. "Without it," he holds, "no one can be an orator."²⁴ He includes elegance of language in his definition of oratory.²⁵ To him clarity avails naught without the light of language.²⁶ To him an orator is not worthy of the name, unless he has a graceful and elegant style, distinguished by a peculiar artifice and polish.²⁷ He groups grace with propriety as the two essential elements of eloquence.²⁸ He denies the attribute of eloquence to the Stoics²⁹ and to the so-called "Attic" orators because of their meagerness of style,³⁰ and he is delighted at being commended by Caesar for his rich and fertile language.³¹

In fact, Cicero stresses embellishments so strongly that the impression has gone abroad that this trait is about all that there is to his style. To the layman he is merely a slinger of words,

²⁴ *De Or.* I, 94: *ornare*.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 54: *ornata*.

²⁶ *De Or.* III, 24: *lucē verborum*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 50: *artificio quodam et expolitione distinctam*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 53: *ornate — aptum*. Cf. *ibid.*, 91.

²⁹ *Brut.* 118: *inopes*.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 289: (a picture of Attic orators talking to empty benches).

³¹ *Brut.* 253.

or at his best, an oratorical Caruso that steals away the hearts of his hearers with the music of his periods. Such seems to be the position even of Mommsen, who is almost petulant in his annoyance at Cicero for his stylistic influence throughout the ages. This view has gained the wider acceptance, no doubt, from the sort of Cicero's works commonly read nowadays. It is the *Catilinarian* orations and the *Manilian Law* with their high-sounding phrases and thundering periods that this generation knows. The *Pro Milone*, the *Pro Cluentio*, the *Second Philippic*, and the *De Oratore* with their marvellous attainment of unity through multiplicity are sealed books today. After re-reading these remarkable productions I am inclined to wonder along with Professor Petersson where Mommsen got his biassed idea of Cicero. The elaborate study of Norden into Cicero's rhythm and cadence has also accentuated this narrow view of Cicero's artistry.

Cicero himself is probably somewhat to blame for being pigeon-holed with mere word-jugglers. His accusers take him at his own word; for he talks much about embellishments. In one of his letters he renounces a plan for writing a geography and excuses his action on the plea that such a subject does not lend itself sufficiently well to embellishment.³² Again, in writing about his *Orator* he advises the young son of Lepta to read it diligently on the ground that it is well to let language of that sort ring in one's ears.³³ Furthermore, in his history of oratory, he credits his more ornate style with having given him a vogue to the neglect of less polished writers.³⁴

Aside from these cursory remarks of Cicero there is more formal evidence; for he devotes a large portion of the *De Oratore* and most of the *Orator* to the ornamental phase of style. Lastly, his own practice testifies to his fondness for decoration. As in Stevenson, so in Cicero, melody and harmony are controlling principles; typical of his style is this passage in which he depicts

³² *Att.* II, VI.

³³ *Fam.* VI, XVIII.

³⁴ *Brut.* 123.

the way old age comes upon us:³⁵ *Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit*. Thus have misapprehension and overinterpretation conspired to write Cicero down as a mere stylist rather than a real artist.

But a reference to Cicero's theory and practice will easily settle this question, for this one-sided impression of Cicero will disappear when we have clearly in mind what he means by embellishments. His real attitude reveals itself in the following quotation from the *Brutus*:³⁶ "Embellishments should be such as not to decorate our language but to give lustre to our thoughts." Cicero applies this distinction between surface adornment and integral beauty in his literary criticism. He rejects the Asiatic mode as being either too sententious or too prolix.³⁷ He accounts for his eclipse of Hortensius³⁸ by the latter's adherence to that school. In the *Orator* he censures the Sophists for their flowery ways of speech,³⁹ and in the *De Finibus* he calls floridity in exposition childish.⁴⁰ He even criticises his own earlier method of speaking as being too florid.⁴¹ He cites the *Pro Roscio Amerino* and the *Catilinarian* orations as being a bit too ornate and pokes fun at the *De Consulatu*⁴² as being all *made up* out of the vanity kits of the rhetoricians. In the *De Oratore* his own mouthpiece, Crassus, objects to being given the topic of embellishments, saying to Antonius,⁴³ who had discoursed at length on the oratorical outline: "You have left me nothing but words, having taken the substance for yourself." Lastly, we must go for our final estimate of Cicero's attitude toward ornament to the last of his great orations, the *Second Philippic*,⁴⁴ in which rarely does a sentence

³⁵ *De Sen.* 38.

³⁶ *Brut.* 141: *non tam in verbis pingendis quam in illuminandis sententiis.*

³⁷ *Brut.* 325 ff.: *unum sententiosum et argutum; aliud verbis volucre atque incitatum.*

³⁸ *Loc. cit.*

³⁹ *Or.* 65.

⁴⁰ *De Fin.* III, 19.

⁴¹ *Or.* 107 f.

⁴² *Att.* II, 1.

⁴³ *De Or.* II, 366. *verba* (i. e. the discussion on ornament) *mihi reliquit Antonius, rem ipse sumpsit.*

⁴⁴ Sihler, *The Second Philippic*, p. XXXIII.

embrace more than four cola and in which it would be difficult to find a single superfluous word. From these citations it is clear that in Cicero's opinion the attractive element in style should be no mere *tour de force*, for the diversity he seeks and the embellishments he uses are closely integrated with the structure and the thought.

By disposing of the elements of clarity and variety we have now cleared the way for the third division of Cicero's treatment of style, that is, emotional appeal. I take it that under this caption he includes far more than a mere stirring of the passions such as pity and fear. He means what the modern critic has in mind when he talks of the artistic emotion — the thrill we experience when we view Leonardo's "Last Supper" or hear Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*. That we are warranted in this interpretation is clear if we may accept at its face value Cicero's assertion that only an artist can tell what qualities make for the successful orator.⁴⁵ Moreover he is careful to distinguish between the organization of the oratorical outline and the arrangement of the emotional material, pointing out that the one comes to anyone as a matter of course, the other to the orator only as a matter of discretion.⁴⁶ Cicero defines oratory as language of power and elegance accommodated to the feelings and passions of mankind,⁴⁷ and he often speaks of the oratorical art. Now these terms — "arrangement," "accommodated," "art" — all signify "fitted together." They all imply conscious effort at harmonizing material; and when supplemented by a certain indefinable something, about which I shall have something to say later, produce what critics call a work of art.

If this interpretation is correct, if persuasion in the opinion of Cicero is really a matter for the artist, before we can go on with our discussion, it will be necessary to find out what Cicero

⁴⁵ *Brut.* 185: *artifex iudicabit.*

⁴⁶ *De Or.* II, 307 f.: *hoc* (i.e. the use of the oratorical outline) *dicendi natura ipsa praescribit; ut vero statuamus ea quae dicenda sunt, quem ad modum componamus, id est vel maxime proprium oratoris prudentiae.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 54: *hoc est proprium oratoris, oratio gravis et ornata et hominum sensibus ac mentibus accommodata.*

thinks of the artistic genius. Is it his idea that an artist must be born, or that he can be made? Can he work without rules, or do native ability and training go hand in hand? These questions open up the whole problem of romanticism and classicism, — of singing from inspiration and of writing by rule. The antagonists of the classicists have strong support. There is the great Goethe himself who, as Professor Cooper shows, maintained the doctrine of spontaneity. Even in the day of Cicero there was eminent authority for this view; but rejecting this extreme position, he takes his stand on the other side of the issue. Here we go to the *Archias* for evidence. After that beautiful sixth chapter in which Cicero credits his studies with having perfected his oratory, he propounds the question whether the worthies of the past were men of training.⁴⁸ In reply he admits that many men have attained distinction untaught, and that talent without training avails more than learning without native ability; but he contends that natural disposition reinforced by systematic education produces an extraordinary consummation of character. This contention comes out even more strongly in the *De Finibus*, where he holds that in oratory at least art is a surer guide than nature.⁴⁹ He makes the same distinction in the *Brutus*, where he says: "It is needless to add that much depends upon art."⁵⁰ In the same work he maintains that only an artist can successfully solve the problem of the orator⁵¹ and with approval cites Crassus as an example of one who qualified for his profession by the united efforts of art and native ability.⁵²

Having decided that genius and training go hand in hand, Cicero proceeds to show how the oratorical artist can be trained, and illustrates the discussion from his own life. First, he asks whether technic or experience is the headmaster in the school of oratory and gives us his answer in the part Antonius takes in

⁴⁸ *Pro Archia*, 15 f.

⁴⁹ *De Fin.* IV, 10: *ars est dux certior quam natura.*

⁵⁰ *Brut.* 111: *Quid dicam opus esse doctrina?*

⁵¹ Cf. n. 45.

⁵² *Brut.* 98: *ingenio valuit et studio.*

the *De Oratore*.⁵³ Antonius starts out by denying the classical position. He will hardly acknowledge oratory to be an art;⁵⁴ it is, to his way of thinking, not so much a matter of schooling as of attainment from practice.⁵⁵ But as he warms up with his subject, he shifts his point of view. He confesses that certain artful suggestions may be given to beget persuasion⁵⁶ and allows that the investigator will find oratory to be something resembling an art if not an art absolutely.⁵⁷ Thus he is well on his way toward orthodoxy.

This change comes out in the dialogue. Before he knows it, Antonius is in the midst of a brilliant survey of Greek historiography⁵⁸ and stands convicted of being an adept in literary pursuits.⁵⁹ Later he avows himself a believer in the efficacy of imitation.⁶⁰ By the time he is well into his discourse he displays such an enthusiastic familiarity with the oratorical art that Crassus twits him with having reversed his former position.⁶¹ Finally,⁶² he goes into such a detailed exposition of oratorical theory that Crassus pronounces him a professed artist stripped of the disguises of dissimulation. In this way by turning the pragmatic Antonius into a humanist Cicero champions the view that oratory can be taught.

So much for Cicero's theory; now for his practice. For whether we adopt the humanistic or the romantic view of life, we ought to be interested in seeing how a master works. As an artist Cicero passed through two stages, that of preparation and that of creation. There were two phases to the former: general and specific, liberal and vocational, foundational and technical. Not knowing anything of the modern doctrine of the non-trans-

⁵³ *De Or.* I, 81 ff.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 29: *sive artificium sive studium dicendi*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 70: *sive ratione, sive exercitatione dicendi*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 32: *praecepta posse quaedam dari*.

⁵⁷ *Loc. cit.*: *si non plane artem, at quasi artem quandam*.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, 54-55.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 40: *nox te nobis, Antoni, expolivit*.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 350: *cognitum iam artificem*.

ference of power, he sought out basic studies. All that we call cultural was grist to his oratorical mill. He steeped himself in literature on the ground that it holds the springs of eloquence.⁶³ He fed at the breast of Philosophy; for he viewed it as the mother of every excellence in deed or speech.⁶⁴ He credited that same Philosophy with having made him all that he was,⁶⁵ without which whatever oratorical power he had would have dried up.⁶⁶ He read history widely that he might be able to appeal to the venerable evidence of the dead.⁶⁷ Above all, he sought every opportunity to sit at the feet of the learned.⁶⁸ When Philo and Molon came to town, he hunted them up; or again, he traveled to Athens, Asia, and Rhodes in search of instruction. Verily, he was no forerunner of the Flexnerian maxim that we should study only such subjects as the momentary need may require.

On the vocational side Cicero was no less indefatigable. He wrote continually; for, in his opinion, the pen is the artificer of eloquence.⁶⁹ He practiced translation assiduously;⁷⁰ for he considered such practice an excellent check on slovenly writing. He believed in imitation lest his style should deteriorate;⁷¹ hence his worship of Plato, from whom he transferred passages bodily; and his deference to Aristotle, from whom he adopted the dialogue form. To keep fit he took setting-up exercises;⁷² and ignorant of modern theories in regard to the mental faculties, he followed a system of mnemonics in order to improve his memory.⁷³ He was a perfect fiend for declaiming. To keep in prac-

⁶³ *Brut.* 322: *litteris quibus fons perfectae eloquentiae continetur.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*: *philosophiam matrem omnium bene factorum beneque dictorum.*

⁶⁵ *De Leg.* I, 63: *eam (sapientiam) quae me eum quicumque sum effecit non possum silentio praeterire.*

⁶⁶ *Fam.* IX, 18: *exaruisset.*

⁶⁷ *Brut.* 322: *memoriam rerum Romanarum.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 304-316.

⁶⁹ *Fam.* VII, 25: *Is (stilus) est dicendi opifex.* Cf. *De Or.* I, 150: *Stilus optimus et praestantissimus dicendi effector ac magister.*

⁷⁰ *De Or.* I, 154 f.

⁷¹ *Vide n.* 60.

⁷² *Fam.* IX, 18.

⁷³ *De Or.* I, 157. Cf. *De Sen.* 38.

tice, he sought out such experts in public speaking as Molon and such adepts at logic as Diodotus and held a sort of coaching-school at his house for the young bloods of the town. As to impromptu discourse, he was persuaded of nothing so much as that men by speaking badly become bad speakers.⁷⁴ This review of Cicero's preparation for life shows that he laid equal stress upon "the immediately practical and the ultimately practical," avoiding the Scylla of medieval scholasticism and the Charybdis of twentieth-century pedagogy.

We have now pursued Cicero through the course he took for becoming an orator, and we are now in a position to pick up the thread of discourse which we laid aside that we might determine what he thought about the nature of oratory and its attainment. It will be remembered that we had discussed the first two points of the rhetorical outline — to wit, clarity and variety, and were ready for the third and last — emotional appeal. We had seen that, as used by Cicero, this term seems to connote far more than a mere stirring of the passions and that it transcends mere rhetoric.

With these findings in view, let us now see what is the harmonizing principle that turns a baldly scientific classification into a work of art; what the magnet is that draws the conflicting aspects of a subject into a harmonious whole. Dow calls this power *good taste*, or a sense of *proportion*;⁷⁵ Irving Babbitt uses the terms *decorum* and *appropriateness*.⁷⁶ Parenthetically, it should be noticed that the artistic world equates *decorative*, that is, *becoming*, with *beautiful*.⁷⁷ Cicero long preceded these critics in recognizing the part *decorum* plays in the artistic endeavor, for he expressly states that this quality is the chief thing in art.⁷⁸ He devotes many chapters of the *Orator* to a discussion of this

⁷⁴ *De Or.* I, 150: *perverse dicere homines perverse dicendo facillime consequi.*

⁷⁵ Dow, *Composition*, p. 42.

⁷⁶ *Rousseau and Romanticism.*

⁷⁷ Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁷⁸ *De Or.* I, 132: *caput esse artis decere* (citing Roscius).

trait⁷⁹ and says that a proper treatment of the subject would require a large volume.⁸⁰ "Nothing," he says, "is more difficult to attain;⁸¹ ignorance of it is the chief cause of faulty poetry, painting, and oratory;⁸² it must pervade every part of a work of art."⁸³ He maintains that the least an orator can do is to be *becoming*,⁸⁴ and that *he* will be an eloquent man who can adapt his speech to what is becoming.⁸⁵ More specifically, Cicero asserts that *he* is an eloquent man who can speak of small things in a lowly manner, of moderate things in a temperate manner, and of great things in a dignified manner.⁸⁶ Thus it is that Cicero makes *decorum* the magic which draws the multiplicity of rhetorical data into an artistic unity.

Having laid down his theory of appropriateness in general terms, Cicero proceeds to set it forth in more detail. By the touchstone of propriety he decides that persuasion should appear chiefly in the introduction, conclusion, and digressions.⁸⁷ In narratives he would be brief, but with a brevity calculated to persuade.⁸⁸ In his arguments with an eye on propriety he stations his strongest material at either end and gathers his less important in the center.⁸⁹ He adapts his subject-matter⁹⁰ to the case and to the audience⁹¹ and keeps his humor within the bounds of decorum.⁹² Such, in brief, is Cicero's account of how he

⁷⁹ Or. 70, et passim.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 73: *magnum volumen desiderat*.

⁸¹ Ibid., 70: *nihil est difficilius quam quid deceat videre*.

⁸² Ibid.: *huius (decorum) ignorantiae non modo in vita, sed saepissime et in poematis et in oratione peccatur*.

⁸³ Ibid., 71 ff.

⁸⁴ Or. 104: *non (perfectionem) adsequimur; at quid deceat videmus*.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 123: *Is erit ergo eloquens qui ad id quodcumque decebit poterit accommodare orationem*.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 101: *Is erit eloquens qui poterit parva summis, modica temperate, magna graviter dicere*.

⁸⁷ De Or. II, 311: *proprius est locus*.

⁸⁸ Ibid., II, 326: *ad persuadendum accurata*.

⁸⁹ Ibid., II, 314: *In oratione firmissimum quodque sit primum*.

⁹⁰ Ibid., II, 332: *omnia ad mentis iudicium permovendas conferenda*.

⁹¹ Or. 123: *erit rebus ipsis par et aequalis oratio*.

⁹² Vide supra n. 22.

brought the principle of arrangement into the more or less evident order of the oratorical outline. Brief as it is, this résumé reveals that at every step in the making of an oration he held before himself the principle of *decorum*.

These terms — “decorum,” “propriety,” “good taste” — were no empty words in the artistic consciousness of Cicero. They were the lode-star that guided him. Sometimes they influenced him negatively, as when he condemned the Asiatic style for its flamboyancy and the so-called Attic for its meagerness; or again when he rejected a shipment of Bacchic dancers for his library on the ground of their unsuitability for such surroundings. More often this feeling for *decorum* affected him affirmatively. It led him to dedicate his *De Officiis* to his son, to choose Cato rather than Tithonus as chief speaker in the *De Senectute*, and to substitute Varro for Catulus and Lucullus in the *Academics*. The same principle was responsible for the masterful letters in which he rallied Metellus for his pomposity, consoled Marius for having missed the games, and chided Furnius for his loss of patriotic fervor; and a sad perversion of it begot such discreditable effusions as Cicero’s note of reconciliation to Crassus and his fulsome laudation of Dolabella. In this way does *decorum* appear as the guiding principle in Cicero’s theory of art and the crystalizing agent in its realization.

We have now reviewed Cicero’s conception of the oratorical art in theory and practice. We have seen that he saw far more in literary composition than surface adornment. He believed that it took both natural ability and careful training to make an orator. He carried out this theory by giving himself both a liberal and a vocational education; and throughout his works he reveals himself as an artist in his power to recognize the diverse details of life and through the principle of *decorum* to organize them into an harmonious entity.

Thus in our quest for the secret of Cicero’s art we have arrived at the shrine of Philosophy, to which Cicero gave all credit, and at the portals of the Academy, where Plato taught him to imitate

the ideal, to accept the probable, and to follow the becoming — the Academy where hung the veil of illusion through which Cicero in his day caught a glimpse of the perfect orator, and all good classicists ever since have

“Had sight of Proteus rising from the sea,
Or heard old Triton blow his wreathed horn.”

A TRIP TO TUNISIA AND EASTERN ALGERIA

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Of all the outlying parts of the Roman Empire, none perhaps has a stronger historic and picturesque appeal to the modern traveller than Africa. Egypt is in the well-trodden tourist path, and Algiers has long been a port of call for many steamers; but only within a very few years (in Morocco since 1922) has the inauguration of regular auto service by the *char-a-bancs* of the Compagnie générale Transatlantique put French North Africa within the Grand Tour. The high prices which the Transatlantique must charge for the high standard of service which it gives render this part of the Grand Tour beyond the purse of the ordinary classical student or teacher. Furthermore he will not be satisfied with the itinerary arranged for the average traveller. Only by independent or semi-independent travel can he see what he wants to see. Such travel in Tunisia and Algeria is now perfectly feasible, as the experience of many has proved. As further evidence the writer would record his own recent experience.

The prospective visitor should be able to read and, if possible, to speak French. In Tunis and some other places like Sfax where Italian immigrants outnumber the French colonists, a knowledge of Italian also is useful. English however will prove of little value save in the very best hotels and some of the tourist agencies, — of much less value than either in France or Italy. If one cannot use French, it is advisable to travel in a party with some one who can interpret as needed. Baedeker's *Guide to the Mediterranean*, though out of date, is still valuable for archæological material and is the only guide in English. In French the best is the excellent *Guide Bleu* (25 fr.) published by Hachette, Paris.

For atmosphere there is nothing better than Boissier's *L'Afrique romaine*, available also in an English version. And once arrived, one may get more detailed information from the various tourist agencies, including Cook's and the American Express, or the guides attached to the hotels in the larger cities. Even many of the smaller places have their tourist headquarters, the so-called *Syndicats d'Initiative de Tourisme*, as in France itself.

The tourist season is usually regarded as extending from the middle of February to the middle of May. Then the best hotels are open and all the facilities for travel available. But except for the possibilities of protracted rain, one may travel almost as easily in autumn or winter, and at somewhat less cost. Travel in summer is more difficult; but much of North Africa is at a high altitude; and if proper precautions are taken to conform to the native custom of early rising and rest in the heat of the day, the country is no more unbearable than Southern France or Italy or other Mediterranean countries at the same time of year. The American teacher need not be deterred by the fact that he has only the summer vacation for travel.

As to clothing, one must be prepared for the greatest variations in weather and temperature. In the country to be traversed, there are not only deserts but towering mountains, broad oak forests, lofty plateaus, and fertile coastal plains. In March we experienced rain on the desert and at Tunis, Timgad, Lambese, and Djemila; and snow at Tebessa. On the railroad the only heat is furnished by charcoal foot-warmers which are changed at division headquarters. You will wish to travel much by automobile. Your hotel may or may not have central heating, probably not. You must be provided therefore with heavy clothing as well as with the light clothing that you would naturally carry. This point must be emphasized as the average American who goes to Africa in "the season" does not carry sufficiently heavy clothing.

Duly equipped with guidebooks and clothing, his passport with its French visa properly stamped (without extra cost) for Tunisia

and Algeria, our African traveller will reach Tunis either indirectly by rail or boat from some port in Algeria, or preferably by direct steamer from Marseilles or an Italian port. From Italy there are two lines to Tunis. The Italian State Railways provide daily boat service from Naples to Palermo. The Monday boat from Naples sails from Palermo for Tunis Tuesday afternoon, arriving Wednesday morning; and starts on its return trip Thursday afternoon. This is perhaps the more popular route, partly because it enables the traveller to stop off in Sicily. I can recommend also the steamer of the Societa Sicilia, which, starting at Genoa and touching at Leghorn, leaves Civitavecchia (50 miles north of Rome) Wednesday noon, arrives at Cagliari on the island of Sardinia Thursday morning, and sails on that evening for the night run to Tunis. The stay at Cagliari is ample for a good view of the town and its antiquities. Visits to the Roman amphitheater, almost entirely cut in the living lime-stone, and to the Museum with its models of "nuraghi," or prehistoric tombs, and its notably systematic collection of Roman coins, are interesting by-products of the trip. The cost of the steamer ticket by these different routes is about the same, something like \$15 or \$17 one way. Be sure that your ticket entitles you to food as well as to berth, as food is sometimes an extra on these Mediterranean voyages.

Our traveller, comfortably settled in one of the three or four good hotels at Tunis, will doubtless wish to loiter several days. He will wish to wander up and down the avenue Jules-Ferry or the rue d'Italie rubbing elbows with noble, stately Arabs or ragged beggars, or to linger over his coffee at an open-air café watching the women in their several stages of unveiling, — from the women of the aristocracy, who climb in or peek out of their heavily curtained vehicles, to the women of the poorer classes, who carefully conceal themselves before men of their own race, but who do not mind the glances of the infidel, to the Jewish women in their flowing white silks but of uncovered faces. He will wish to spend hours in the native quarter, the *Souks*, or shops, of Tunis,

said by many to be as interesting as those of Cairo or Constantinople; to watch the native workers at wood-turning or metal-beating, or to bargain for souvenirs for friends at home.

But when he has done these things which all travellers do, our classical friend will take the electric train for Carthage. He will visit the theater, the amphitheater, the cisterns, the baths, and all the other relics of the Roman city. He will inspect the prehistoric tombs and if lucky, perhaps see excavations in progress. But he will search in vain for remains of the Carthage of Hannibal's day. Naught save the site remains, but over that he will linger long; and he will marvel much, as, standing by the Cathedral of St. Louis, where was the ancient Byrsa, or at the higher lighthouse in the clean little Arab village of Sidi-Bou-Said, he looks out over that marvellous landscape, unequalled in all the world. The chances are that he will wish to return to Carthage again and again, or even make a protracted stay at the simple hotel near the "American excavations." He will certainly visit the Musée Lavigerie for its collection of Punic antiquities, as at Tunis he will without fail go to the Bardo, to the Musée Alaoui.

This latter museum is most notable perhaps for the bronzes rescued a few years ago from a sunken treasure ship of the first century B.C.; for the extraordinarily complete collection of Roman lamps of pagan and Christian date; and the ancient mosaics brought here for safe keeping from all parts of Tunisia. North Africa, one may note in passing, has preserved for us more mosaics than all the rest of the Roman world together. The workmanship is not always as fine as that of earlier date in Italy; but for numbers of specimens and variety of subjects the student of Roman mosaics must go to Africa and to the Bardo. The themes are partly conventional, drawn from the mythological handbooks — Amphitrites, Neptunes, Bacchuses abound; or drawn from real life: interesting interpretations of rural activities, portraits of favorite gladiators or race horses, lively annals of the chase. Here is the famous mosaic, found at Sousse, representing Vergil seated between two Muses. The identification is certain as the

poet holds a scroll on which is written the eighth verse of the first book of the *Aeneid*.

The stay at Tunis will be broken also by excursions to classical sites which can be reached in a day by automobile. Most notable of these is Dougga, which no lover of the beautiful and the ancient will miss. The theater, the Capitolium, the temple of Caelestis, not to mention the other monuments, are unforgettably lovely. During the tourist season, there are weekly or semi-weekly autobus excursions from Tunis. One may travel also by public bus or by rail and spend the night at Taboursook, but this is recommended only for the self-reliant and adventurous. A party of four may go most comfortably and economically by specially hired car, at the usual price of a franc and a half per kilometer.

Of almost equal interest is a day excursion by auto to the tremendous aqueduct of Oudna, the ruins of Thuburbo Majus, still under excavation, and the water sources for ancient Carthage and modern Tunis at Zaghuan.

A glance at the archæological map of North Africa or a slight study of the guidebooks will make clear that the difficulty for the classical student is not to find Roman ruins—the country is literally strewn with them—but to select the most interesting and to plan the simplest itinerary. The itinerary which our party followed may serve as a suggestion of what there is to see and how it may be reached.

Every other Sunday during the spring of 1925, a special train left Tunis for a six-day tour of Southern Tunisia. The rates were so reasonable and the time-table so well arranged that we decided that we could see the significant classical and native centers, except Gighti and the troglodyte region, at less cost and with more comfort and greater economy of time and money by this than by any other method. We found it so in fact. The train was clean: no soot, smoke, or cinders, as our engine was a Diesel oil-burner, that "tuned up" like a gasoline engine before starting. The service was courteous. The meals on the train

were excellent. We spent the night at good hotels. Autos and guides were furnished us at all stopping-points. We saw about what one would wish to see: the amphitheater of El Djem, a marvellous structure in a desert region; the museums and Arab quarters of Sousse; the olive groves of Sfax, where the French and the Italians are restoring agriculture as it was in antiquity; the oases of Tozeur and Nefta with their magnificent streams of water, giving life to hundreds of thousands of date palms, and livelihood to a swarming populace that dwell in sundried houses as did their ancient predecessors; the phosphate and alfa industry; Thelepte with its wilderness of ruins seen from the train; the restored temples, arch, and theater of Sbeitla; and Kairouan, one of the four sacred cities of the Moslem world, where however the unbeliever may go into the mosques as he may not elsewhere in Tunisia. (He is permitted to enter them in Algeria.) Eight hundred thirty-two francs a person everything included, scarcely seemed to cover expenses, especially as there were only eleven persons in the party.

Our special tour finished, we went by regular train to Constantine. For those who can afford it, I would recommend this trip by the cars of the Transatlantique; but even from the train the scenery is magnificent; and as the train was comfortable though slow, we were well content. One might break the all-day ride by spending the night at Souk-el-Arba, from where by train and mule (necessary for crossing the river Mjerda) one might make an excursion to the rarely lovely ruins of Chemtou. We had time only to see them at a distance from the car-window. Bulla Regia we had been told was uninteresting, so we passed it by also.

Constantine, ancient Cirta, the city of Syphax and Masinissa, is one of the most extraordinarily situated cities in all the world. Upon a lofty plateau cut in the form of a trapezoid by deep river gorges, it is an all but impregnable natural fortress. Walks through the gorges, over the lofty thread-like bridges, in the mazes of the Arab and Jewish quarters, or down in the valley to the great arches of the Roman aqueduct, filled in the moments that were not taken up with more ambitious programs.

We made a trip south to Lambese and Timgad, perhaps the most famous of the cities which the French have excavated and restored. Our headquarters were in the excellent, though cold, hotel at Batna. We hired an auto for the ride to Timgad, but Timgad may be reached also by walking less than a mile from the line of the Batna-Khenchela autobus. There is a good hotel at Timgad. We did not go to the Garden of Allah at Biskra, as we had seen equally good and less commercialized oases at Tozeur and Nefta.

From Constantine we also made a day trip by train to Philippeville on the coast, with its little museum, its mosaic, and its ancient theater in a school-yard. By auto (rate 2 francs a kilometer) we spent a day visiting Djemila, some 150 kilometers west of Constantine. This summer city in the mountains has been under excavation since 1909,¹ and with the opening of a Hotel Transatlantique may prove a rival to Timgad in tourist interest. Our only grief was that a dull gray day made photography difficult.

From Constantine we again turned east. Our first stop was Guelma, where there is an interesting restored Roman theater as well as other ruins. Then we went to Bone to see Hippo, St. Augustine's home. A walk to the excavations and the Cathedral, and a stroll in the late afternoon along the shore gathering shells and stranded jellyfish, were the features here. Then the long train-ride via Souk Ahras and Apuleius' country to Tebessa. It was bitter cold. Snow fell as we walked about the temple, the arch, and the basilica. For very pity of our little, ragged Arab guide, who was half-naked and sniffing, we all but abandoned our promenade to an ancient bath establishment a mile or so away. But Tebessa was worth the discomforts.

From Tebessa a kind Frenchman suggested to us that, instead of taking the train to Souk Ahras and thence to Tunis, we go by auto directly east and catch the railroad at a station southwest

¹ The completion of these excavations was celebrated, October 11, 1925, with a festival of which the chief event was a performance of a Greek tragedy by actors from the Comédie Française, before an audience of French and Arabs, in the theater where no actor's voice had resounded for nearly a thousand years. See the *New York Times*, October 13, 1925.

of Tunis, thus reaching our destination much earlier and seeing the interesting ruins of Haidra and Medeina on the way. But we were afraid to risk the long ride across country by auto, lest we should miss our train and our steamer on the following day. So we took the longer route which we had already seen before, reaching Tunis at midnight. The next day we sailed out of the port of Tunis, along the narrow canal past the flocks of flaming flamingoes, glanced for the last time at the spot where once stood Rome's most dangerous rival, determined to return some day to see the lions we had missed, especially Algiers and ancient Mauretania.

How much did the trip cost? We had stayed at comfortable hotels, by rail we had travelled second-class, we had used autos as needed, we had not missed anything because of the expense, and our month from Italian port to Italian port cost us within the neighborhood of \$200 apiece. And at this comparatively small expense, we had gained our most vivid impression of the Romans as empire-builders.

THE "THOU-SHALT-NOTS" IN JUVENAL

By LUCILLE HALEY

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Rome had long awaited her Moses — a Moses respectable and gentle-tongued, who would go sedately up Mt. Sinai and come sedately down again, bearing in pious hands the sacred tablets. Cato had been sober enough, and Cicero had been sure-footed enough, but they had both somehow missed the burning-bush vision that was necessary. Meanwhile Rome had good-naturedly gone on waiting and had consoled herself by making a rather comfortable best of it while she waited. What she wanted was a convivial old clergyman who would admonish the world over a tolerant wine-cup. What she got was a fiery-tongued scourger who, with devastation in his very gesture, strode hot-headedly up and down her market-place, impartially knocking over whatever he passed. Here was a powerful preacher instead of a pleasant one — a Milton gone mad, who outraged the grown-up dignity of Rome by giving her the astonished and uncertain feeling of being caught in the pantry with a hand on the cookie jar.

By temperament he was well suited to denunciation. In the early reign of our gracious emperor Nero, the small being who was later given the name of Decimus Junius Juvenalis fell from his star — probably losing his temper in the process — and opened angry eyes and shook a sturdy fist at the bulrushes. His vigorous exercise of that appendage continued, although other things were substituted for the bulrushes, and presently he came to Rome to find his pulpit and the objects of his scorn awaiting him. He was a Moses who disdained to take the trouble of climbing Mt. Sinai, but found it easier to carry it about with him,

an eternal chip on the shoulder, so that he could always have it at hand when he wanted to tell humanity what he thought of things. His *rigidi censura cachinni* pierced all time in one long, mocking echo, but when he laughed, there was no smile in his eyes and no humor in his voice. He said "Thou shalt not" in a merciless, impersonal way that had no tolerance for anyone who might be weak enough to disobey. And he said "Thou shalt not behave in a ridiculous manner" as often and as emphatically as he said "Thou shalt do no murder." Other sound ratings had been administered to the world by other zealots before Juvenal, by zealots who had given vent to much the same platitudes and who had given vent to them much more consistently. What Juvenal did that his fellow-sputterers could not do, however, was to make the commonplaces of morality quiver and flame under the smart of his immense indignation. By the wording of a phrase he could make a banality as surprising and as painful as unpremeditated contact with a hot culinary utensil.

His philosophy was the kind of practical wisdom which one gets by observing the antics of one's neighbor, and which Juvenal probably got by rubbing elbows with his compatriots in the narrow streets of Rome, dexterously jumping aside now and then to avoid annihilation by the litter of some purple-clad member of the aristocracy — a situation highly conducive to the development of the philosophical attitude. In *Satire XIII* he declares that he has no acquaintance with the doctrines of the philosophical schools but that his is the wisdom of common sense, and one of the precepts that his common sense insists upon is the futility of revenge. The gentleman to whom the satire is addressed has had the misfortune to trust his friends too much and not wisely, with the consequence that he finds his pecuniary situation considerably depressed and his faith in humanity considerably shattered. Juvenal would impress upon him the obvious but not very consoling fact that he can't get back his vanished sesterces by reaping revenge from the delinquent Judas. Moreover, revenge is characteristic of an ignoble soul. One should imitate the magnanimity of Socrates who was so forgiving that he had

no wish to do evil even to the man whose unjust accusation was to bring about his death.

In the same satire, Juvenal shows the strength of his belief in the inevitability of natural punishment and the essential justice of the "powers that be." The tortures of conscience are worse than any artificial punishment inflicted by man, for it is Juvenal's belief that, far from abating in intensity with increasing falls by the wayside, the vehemence of its pangs increases with each fall until at last it brings the poor wretch to a bad end. "Give a man rope enough, and he will hang himself," says Juvenal. If one doesn't take it upon oneself to meddle with the plans of nature, in due time the guilty will be punished:

tandemque fatebere laetus
nec surdum nec Tiresian quemquam esse deorum.

Plato had once said something of the same sort and had elaborated upon the idea that injustice becomes a cancer in the soul of the man who is guilty of it, laming his capacity for life and aggravating his incapacity to meet death. What Juvenal says is not very different, and that the sin reacts on the sinner has been the comforting doctrine of endless worthy vicars since; but he says it in the manner of a brilliant declaimer who has surprised himself by a remarkable discovery, and who intends to surprise his audience by springing it on them. He says it to the accompaniment of a blare of trumpets which startles one to silence by the sheer unexpectedness and volume of its blaring. He would have one believe that, since nature is wise and in the end may be trusted to act for the best, the wisest thing man can do is to submit and bear the "bludgeonings of chance" patiently, and, by clutching the practical morality which to Juvenal meant philosophy, become the conqueror of chance — *victrix fortunae sapientia*. It is unbecoming and undignified to snivel because fortune takes away some of one's toys, and experience, if it teaches anything, should teach one to bear such hardships.

He was not indignant at the unpleasant things that happened to him in the natural course of affairs — they were by no means delectable, but they were to be accepted as the necessary evils of

existence. What he did get fidgety about was the unpleasant things that happened to him as the result of the foolhardiness, the shortsightedness, and the empty-headedness of mankind. "If it's any comfort to you," he snaps at the unfortunate victim of the *Thirteenth Satire*, "to know that your misery has plenty of company, all you have to do is to look about you to find it." It was his bitter belief that three-quarters of the world was concerned with the laudable problem of how it could most advantageously trick the remaining gullible quarter. As he implies in the early part of the same satire, the man who can retain his faith in humanity after a sojourn in the city of Rome shows not the piety of brotherly love, but the simplicity of childishness. Cheating and dishonesty have become the order of the day, and if one does escape being defrauded of one's money, it is a thing of prodigious import, requiring preventive sacrificial rites. Robbers and plunderers and compounders of poisons lurk about in search of victims, go-betweens scurry along with the *billets doux* of naughty love affairs, barbers acquire momentous wealth, and nobles have the audacity to drive their own chariots — an accumulation of wickedness which gave the world the hopeless, drunken appearance of having a bad headache and not knowing how to remedy it. It was Juvenal's private opinion that he could suggest a remedy — not aspirin nor ice-water, but a reversion to a few simple standards of conduct — honesty and sincerity and self-control.

His philosophy, his religion, and his morals were all bound together in a few ready-to-wear rules of action which are emphasized more by force of contrast with the blackness of what he satirizes than with any whiteness of what he might have idealized. Both his philosophy and his religion forbade him to meddle with Providence (his first "Thou-Shalt-Not") and counselled him to leave the distribution of misfortune and happiness, punishment and reward, in more wise and more just hands than his own. He preached an ungrumbling submission to the decisions of the gods and an unamused detachment from the topsy-turvy doings of men. He believed that the best thing to do was to

go back to the simplicity and austerity of ancient times, when his forefathers cavorted at the plow and picked grapes in the vineyards and buttercups on the hillsides. His moral standard was, strictly speaking, not a moral standard at all but a Roman standard; and the vices at which he railed were not vices *per se*, but misdeeds which the old Roman ethics condemned. He considered the Rome of his day bad enough but not irredeemable, because it was founded upon the old ideals and because the germs of those ideals might still be buried beneath the surface, if one dug deep enough to get at them. Anything not Roman, however, was impossible. Obviously, therefore, the thing to do was to be a Roman; and so to the philosophical and religious prohibitions, Juvenal adds his first moral one: "Thou shalt not be a foreigner."

This one-sided patriotism is the key to all his ideas. He was not blinded to the vices of the Romans, but he was blinded to the virtues of anything not Roman. He complains in the *Third Satire* that Rome has become a Greek city where all the desirable positions are wrested by greedy Achaeans. The fashionable young Roman, when he sallies forth to a banquet, must sally in some Greek article of dress called by some outlandish Greek name; when he wishes to exercise his muscles, he finds it more gentlemanly to exercise them by Greek gymnastics than by the good old Roman recreations of hunting and the sports of the Campus; whenever he wants anything done that is of a questionable character, he turns to the adaptability, the audacity, and the ingenuity of the Greeks to get it accomplished. There is no art or craft in which the Greek is not adept. He can be a rhetorician, an anointer at the bath, a mathematician, a painter, an augur, a rope-dancer, or a great physician — *Omnia novit Graeculus esuriens*. He pushes his way everywhere and snatches the places that rightfully belong to the Romans. He is so skillful a flatterer that everyone believes him sincere, and so good an actor that he can assume an expression of countenance which will be sympathetic with your mood, whatever it may be:

qui semper et omni
nocte dieque potest aliena sumere vultum
a facie.

In *Satire XIII*, Juvenal upbraids the *turba deorum*, the foreign deities whose worship has been introduced at Rome, and who have been added to the few, highly respectable deities who reigned while Saturn was at the helm of things. In *Satire I*, he jeers at the freedman who, come to Rome as a slave from an eastern country, claims first place in the line of clients attending some great patron. This member of the *nouveaux riches*, though of foreign birth, owns five shops and has amassed enough money to buy himself the coveted rank of *eques*, and so he pompously demands to be admitted first. These few examples will serve to illustrate how immensely prejudiced Juvenal was against anything un-Roman, and how impossible he thought it was for anything Greek or Asiatic or Egyptian to be coupled with anything moral. Like the 100% American who cherishes the soothing conviction that all Chinese perfume their laundries with opium, or that all Italians embroider their sashes with stilettos, he harbored the comfortable idea that anybody, however well-meaning, who did not spring from the dust of the Seven Hills, was at least open to suspicion and certainly not quite proper. Such a state of mind is regrettable, if only because it detracts from the seriousness with which one is able to regard the paragraphs of Juvenal's own moral system. And perhaps the most telling thing one could say about his cosmopolitanism is that it simply didn't exist.

If one had the good sense to get oneself born a Roman citizen, there was something to build upon. But even then there were infinite possibilities of making oneself ridiculous by disgracing one's honorable birth. To be born a Roman brings responsibility enough, but to be born a Roman of high station brings a responsibility infinitely higher, a responsibility which cannot be measured up to by prating of the number of statues of one's ancestors that stand in the Forum or the number of victories that one's grandfather won in the wars. In the *First Satire* Juvenal mocks at the "*Troiugenas*," the Romans who boasted of their

ancestry and asserted that the founders of their families had come to Italy with Aeneas; and he considered false pride of birth so grave a fault that he devoted a whole satire — the *Eighth* — to it. He wanted to impress upon the gay young dilettanti who lived upon their families' reputations that *nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus*. One often jestingly calls a man by the name of that which he lacks, as when one names a dwarf "Atlas" or a homely girl "Europa." A worthless cur may be in irony called a lion, and so one may as inappropriately bear a noble name. It is certainly nothing to one's credit that one's mother has the blood of emperors in her veins instead of being a poor woman working for hire at the loom. It is more dangerous than anything else to have a family tree whose roots stretch far back into history; for one's disgrace, if one's life is an ignoble one, will be all the greater in comparison with the great deeds other members of the family have done.

The whole idea of the satire may be summed up in the line,

Miserum est aliorum incumbere famae.

But one of the great bothers about reading Juvenal is that he seldom sticks to what ought to be his whole idea. Other ideas fascinate him and lure him away into by-paths of digression by the gaudiness of their rhetoric. He makes a gallant start with a few of what our enterprising pamphleteers would call "rules for right living," but he becomes so terribly engrossed with how abominable most living is, that he quite forgets to finish up with a way to remedy it all. With a brief, vivid "touching up" of the commonplace, he flashes a horrible example before us, but it is a very great pity indeed that he cannot with another brief "touching up" give man a small boost in his struggle to cease being a horrible example. He is downright enough in his denunciations, and the things he insists upon as good are elevated enough, but he insists upon them with the ungracious air of knowing beforehand that nobody will listen to him, and that it is futile to hope that man will ever cease being a fool and a knave. He will say what he has to say and wash his hands of the whole tiresome

business. What he needed more than anything else was some process of mellowing — preferably domestication by some fluffy-souled little woman who would have hauled him down from Mt. Sinai, chosen his toga, cooked him delectable banquets, and shaken some optimism into him. It is true that his greatness might have collapsed with his grievance, but he would probably have found compensation in the development of a fireside gout and a sense of humor.

One can trace a kind of mellowing — whether by the process of domestication or by some process equally effective — in his best-written and best-known satires in contrast with his less justifiable ones. He becomes a more impressive figure not because he becomes a less bitter philosopher or a less offensive preacher but because he becomes a greater artist. What would otherwise seem rather trite seems lofty because of the dignity with which he utters it. He rises to one of his greatest heights in the passages in which he emphasizes the importance of educating children by example. In the *Eighth Satire* he had said: "Thou shalt not disgrace the nobility of thy birth by evil-doing." In the *Fourteenth* he says, in a manner far better: "Thou shalt not dishonor the lives of thy children by evil example." With his *maxima debetur puero reverentia* he acknowledged all that educators before and after him had said and were to say of the importance of adequate child-training. With his tremendous arraignment of the parent who, in his own manner of life, sets before his child a pernicious example of gluttony, cruelty, unscrupulousness, and avarice, he acknowledged all that the psychologist would say of the influence of environment. If ever his manner attains to temperate gravity rather than a sky-rocket type of bombast, and if ever his verse attains to a lofty, or even a slightly tender, overtone, it is in this satire, where he salutes the child as the future keeper of the world's destiny.

He censures the father who, by his own greediness, encourages a child's liking for too much and too rich food, yet who, by surrounding him with many wise teachers, expects that the gluttonous tendencies encouraged at home will be corrected. He

censures the father who wishes his child to develop habits of kindness and tolerance but who, in his relations with his dependents, shows himself tyrannical and cruel, delighting in the indoor sport of torturing his slaves. He censures the mother who cannot count the names of her adulterers without pausing thirty times to take breath, and who by her own example leads her daughter to commit the same breach of etiquette. And he censures those parents who, niggardly and petty-minded, devote all their own time to money-getting, who train their children to practice meanness, and who then wonder why their offspring eclipse them at their own game. Such people take great care to sweep out their front parlors in order to make everything pleasing to the eye of the guest, but they are not so particular about removing what may corrupt the morals of their sons. There is a Catiline in the best regulated of families, but only one family in a thousand can boast a Brutus. If you wish your son to be a credit to his country in the corn-field and in the battle-field, you must remember that he will carry to their logical outcome the habits that you instigate in childhood. What Papa stork drops into the hungry mouth of little-boy stork, little-boy stork will hunt for himself when he gets big enough to leave the paternal roosting-place:

*sic natura iubet; velocius et citius nos
corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
cum subeunt animos auctoribus.*

If the fledgling is going to make any kind of a success in life, he must learn the painful lesson that the lizards that are most palatable and that most of the other storks squabble over, are not at all the kind of lizards that are best for one. He must learn that it won't do to feast on the lizard-banquets of other storks but that it is necessary to hustle out and capture a few for oneself — in other words he must learn that self-reliance is the only crutch one can safely lean upon. One of the most admirable things about Juvenal is his independence, which is aggressive to the point of indignation, as though he were always expecting to be attacked and always carried his rapier half-drawn in readiness

to defend himself. That "Thou shalt not live by fawning upon another man" is a commandment which gave him an excuse for using his intellectual upper-cut against the evils of patronage and those who indulged in them. Nothing is more disgusting than a poor man (as he eloquently explains in *Satire V*) who will so stifle his self-respect as to sit at a rich man's table and permit himself to be made the object of coarse raillery on the part of the guests. "Is there no place left in the streets where you may beg?" asks Juvenal angrily. "Begging on the steps of a public building is better than enduring the ignominies of being a parasite in the home of some wealthy patron."

The poor man stewes about unhappily because he hasn't the wealth of a Seneca, the unknown man dashes his brains against his best statuary because he hasn't the fame of a Pompey, and even the schoolboy dreams of having the eloquence of a Demosthenes. Nobody has what he wants; if he gets what he thought he wanted he finds it isn't what he wanted after all; and the thing that he covets most is the very thing that is most likely to send him somersaulting to perdition. All this isn't particularly new, but its triteness is due more to the fact that so many moralists after Juvenal have squeezed it dry, than that it is a rehashing by Juvenal of somebody before him. Certainly there is nothing trite about his manner of saying it. Everybody quotes the *Tenth Satire* and doesn't know what it is that he has quoted, to such an extent has its thought become incorporated in our own language. It is one of the most dignified, one of the most sincere, and consequently one of the most impressive of Juvenal's utterances.

He realized, perhaps as well as anyone ever did, the supreme irony of man's slavish scurryings to snatch the coveted spoils of his ambition — the gratification of which only too often brings him to ruin. He realized also that no success is worth the evils that accompany it, and that he who plots for power is laying up story on story of disaster which will presently come crashing down upon him. He believed that the whole trouble is that men do not know what they really want any more than they know

what is really best for them. The attainment of eloquence, military glory, muscular strength, political power, and wealth leads its possessors — as history well illustrates — to misfortune. A man may sleep soundly in an attic, for he need fear no treason, and he will drink no poison from his earthenware cup. It is in the jewelled goblet and the bulging purse that danger lurks. Men pray for old age, and are then forced to spend the length of days granted them in grieving for the loss of old friendships and old memories. Men pray for a comely appearance, and are then forced to yield to the temptations their beauty brings with it, or, resisting them, to become the innocent victims of unscrupulous people. Men pray for things of the nature of which they are wholly ignorant, and it is death alone which reveals "how insignificant are their diminutive bodies." There is something *supra*-Juvenal about all this — even *supra*-Roman; and in the lines,

*mors sola fatetur
quantula sint hominum corpuscula,*

he goes chanting down the ages, with a cadence almost Lucretian.

"Thou shalt not pray for transitory, earthly blessings" is, then, his last commandment. But when it comes to the question of what one shall pray for, he goes back to the first one again and says: "Let the gods choose for you. After all, they have man's good at heart more than man himself has." The best thing to do is to pray for health, reason, and courage, but one should re-enforce prayer by an active seeking after virtue. It isn't much to the point to wear out one's knees and one's carpet by passionate pleas for saintliness if one goes forth and quarrels over the back fence with one's neighbor. Prayer is effective only in so far as one bestirs oneself to put prayer into action. The last few lines of the satire rise to a stateliness that has something of the slow measured tread of a psalm:

monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare; semita certe
tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
nullum numen habes si sit prudentia; nos te
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.

This is the highest standard that he reached — the standard that somehow soared above his many trivialities and his equally many vulgarities. But how far he himself practiced what he preached, how far he even believed what he preached, is a problem which is in the end insolvable because it turns itself into a question of personalities — a question which must in the end always be insolvable. Juvenal remains an enigma in literature, partly because he armed himself in the formidable armor of bitterness and brilliance, and partly because he either lashed his muse into the inspired frenzy of the seer or dulled his rhetoric to bilious mediocrity. The very *un-even-ness* of his moods, however, points to his sincerity. A less earnest or a more amused man might have feigned indignation against vice, but if he had taken the trouble to feign it, he would have taken enough trouble to go the whole pace and feign a more elevated viewpoint. A more graceful writer would have smoothed his vulgarity by cleverness and his resentment by humor. But Juvenal took himself far too seriously to do anything of the kind. He was too downright and too passionate to write with the scholarly twinkle of Addison. He saw nothing in life to make him smile, and it was only occasionally that he even indulged in a grim joke at its grotesqueness. Had he been less sincere, he might have been less vulgar, less disgusted, and more diverted by the world in general.

Another thing that makes one believe him incapable of hypocrisy is his entire lack of moral perspective. He would hardly have simulated an indignation which waxes as colossal over a misdemeanor as it does over a crime. He would hardly have pretended to consider a man who drives his own chariot as deep-dyed a criminal as the man who fleeces the provinces. It is possible, of course, that he had what is now dubbed the "American" sense of humor — the sense of humor which, by exaggeration and contrast, strives to bring home its point, and which, by suddenly ending with a phrase that is as incongruous as it is unexpected, strives to bewilder its reader into amusement. It may be that this was the effect he was trying to attain when he

mentioned the barber who collected a large fortune in the same breath with an unscrupulous fortune-hunter and an unprincipled adulterer. Perhaps that was what he was trying to do when he put side by side, as companions in misdoing, the youth who squanders his father's money on race-horses and the wife who coyly slips poison into her husband's thirst-assuager. But if that is true, everything that has been said about him is false; and the picture of him that one gets from other parts of the satires is inconsistent. It seems a more likely solution that Juvenal, like many another reformer, was so overwhelmed and caught up by the immensity of the whole text he felt called upon to preach that he lost sight of finer distinctions. Virtue became such an incandescent sort of thing to him that whatever lacked virtue took on the sordidness of crime. If a man was a fool he was taking, in Juvenal's opinion, a long step in the direction of being a knave.

So great was his sincerity and his single-mindedness that he could see nothing facetious, absurd, or ill-proportioned in sweeping contrasts. For him there could be no beautiful compromise, no comfortable "middle way." A thing was either good or bad; if it was good he extolled it, if it was bad he damned it with all the fierceness of which he was capable. It was probably because he spent most of his time in damning that the little time he spent in suggesting a solution seems so highly laudable. He suggests by a kind of negative contrast and by graphic spurts of detail which are so hideous that one turns with a cry of relief to anything which promises to be at all less grimy. It must have been his theory that he could convert people, not by showing them how seraphic they might become, but by shouting at them how satanic they are. As a rhetorician, he stirs one's emotions as effectively as a powerful evangelist. As a moral philosopher, he leaves one with a queer, greenish taste of seasickness and pessimism. And as a personality, he makes one respect him for the strength of his convictions as much as one pities him for the disillusionment that caused them.

LUCRETIUS' USE OF THE SIMILE

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Homer delights in similes for their own sake and often piles detail upon detail, elaborating the images far beyond a necessary degree of comparison. The Homeric similes are pleasant and decorative pictures. In poetry as elevated as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the simile used only as ornament would be out of place. Homer's similes, because of their beauty, do adorn, but they also have a definite purpose. The function of the Homeric simile as ornament is stated by Mackail in his *Lectures on Greek Poetry* as the "illumination of the context." This the simile can do by "throwing a fresh imaginative light on the action to which it is attached, either by reinforcing it or, which is the more frequent use, by relieving it upon a background differing in tone, yet such that the two tones produce a single harmony. In all these uses the Homeric simile reached perfection."

An example of a simile used for its decorative value only is the nightingale passage in the *Odyssey* (XIX, 520). This simile, in spite of its great beauty is irrelevant, for it could be removed without disturbing the main purpose of the *Odyssey*.

Among the many similes which might be cited as reinforcing a situation, the simile of a great snowfall is typical:

"As flakes of snow fall thick on a winter day when Zeus the Counsellor hath begun to snow, showing forth these arrows of his to men, and he hath lulled the winds, and he snoweth continually, till he hath covered the crests of the high hills, and the uttermost headlands, and the grassy plains, and rich tillage of men; and the snow is scattered over the havens and shores of the grey sea, and only the wave as it rolleth in keeps off the snow, but all other things are swathed over,

when the shower of Zeus cometh heavily, so from both sides their stones flew thick, some towards the Trojans, and some from the Trojans against the Achaians, while both sides were smitten, and over all the wall the din arose."¹

The Homeric simile is often used also to relieve an intense situation by putting beside it a calm image. This function is exemplified by the simile in which is introduced the rally of the Achaians when hemmed in on the shore where the waves of the sea laved the Argive huts and ships, and the cry of the hosts was so dreadful that neither the loud bellowing of the waves of the sea, nor the roar of the burning fire, nor the voice of the raging wind was like to it.²

The Lucretian simile differs from the Homeric in one great respect. Homer uses his similes for adornment, whereas Lucretius subordinates the decorative function of his similes to the purpose of aiding his readers in grasping the outlines of the great Epicurean universe. Consequently, the Lucretian similes are not detailed beyond the necessary degree of comparison. Lucretius manifests in this a peculiar harmonizing of the poetical and scientific imagination, which causes the fortuitous elegance and the vividness of his illustrations of the unfamiliar by the familiar, the unseen by the seen, to be felt by the reader as proofs rather than as mere decorative imagery.

The scope of subjects from which Lucretius draws his similes is large, and reveals the poet's great intellect and powers of accurate observation. His numerous images are drawn from the realms of history, philology, nature, medicine, daily life, and physical phenomena.

In the third book Lucretius brings home his point that death is nothing to men, by using a simile drawn from history. "Just as in time gone by we felt no distress when the Carthaginians came to battle, so after there has been a separation of body and soul, nothing will excite sensation, not if earth shall be mingled with sea and sea with heaven."³

¹ *Iliad* XII, 278, Lang, Leaf, and Myer's translation.

² *Iliad* XIV, 392, 401.

³ III, 832.

An interesting philological reference is found in the simile — "Just as you must admit that in these verses of ours you may see many elements common to many words, so in other things there are many first beginnings common to many things, yet they make up a dissimilar whole, so that men and corn and joyous trees may fairly be said to consist of different elements." ⁴

Other similes drawn from philology are found in I, 196; 823; 912.

Throughout the poem are many traces of Lucretius' ardent love for Nature. In all of the comparisons Lucretius reveals a knowledge of Nature in all her grandeur, and in all her simplicity. He uses pictures of tall trees, winged birds, wild animals, swift roaring streams, shadowy mountain pools, which reflect inverted worlds of woods and hills, the rich hues of sunset skies, and verdant meadows begemmed with blossoms.

To bring home to his readers the double doctrine of perpetual motion, the flying speed of countless atoms and of worlds in states of eternal flux, and of the everlasting balance of the universe, Lucretius has used a simile drawn from nature. The simile is homely in its simplicity, intensive in its function of illustration, accurate in observation, and vivid in its portrayal. Lucretius says that things which we can see do yet conceal their motions when a great distance off:

"Thus often the woolly flocks as they crop the glad pastures on a hill, creep on whither the grass, jewelled with fresh dew, summons and invites each, and the lambs, fed to the full, gambol and playfully butt; all which objects appear to us from a distance to be blended together and to rest like a white spot on a green hill." ⁵

Lucretius has shown his knowledge of medicine, physiology, and anatomy in the simile:

"As food distributed through all the cavities of the body, while it is transmitted into the limbs and the whole frame, is destroyed and furnished out of itself the matter of another nature, thus the soul and mind, though they pass entirely into a new body, yet in oozing through

⁴ II, 688 ff., Munro's translation.

⁵ II, 317, Munro's translation.

it are dissolved, whilst there are transmitted into the frame through all the cavities those particles of which this nature of mind is formed." ⁶

Other comparisons drawn from medicine and physiology are found in I, 1038; II, 194; III, 147, 276, 408, 459, 548, 563.

Lucretius looks abroad over the realms of daily life. He sees life unveiled and he shows it openly. For him there is no age of progress and grandeur in man's history. He sees the bestial misery and the savage cruelty from which humanity evolved. He reveals the pathos of the human lot in the simile in which he compares a new-born infant, speechless, and apparently without life, to a sailor cast upon the shore by cruel waves. The baby "fills the room with a rueful wailing, as well he may, whose destiny it is to go through in life so many ills." ⁷

A comparison from daily life which shows Lucretius' keen observation of human life is that of a physician giving a child bitter medicine. Lucretius uses wiles that he may accomplish his purpose of enlightening a humanity chained by superstition. "Just as physicians when they purpose to give nauseous worm-wood to children first smear the rim round the bowl with the sweet yellow juice of honey" that the lips of the children may be flattered and thus they may be restored to health, so Lucretius would clothe his message in "sweet-toned Pierian verse, and overlay it as it were with the pleasant honey of the muses," if by such means he might enable the people to perceive the "whole nature of things, its shape and frame." ⁸ Among the numerous images drawn from daily life are those of children trembling in the dark, occurring in II, 59; III, 87; VI, 72; runners in the Grecian game II, 77; javelin-hurlers (I, 980); wreck at sea (II, 552.)

A comparison drawn from a natural phenomenon is that in which Lucretius says that when a huge mass of soil rolls down into great pools of water, the earth sways with the undulation of

⁶ III, 703, Munro's translation.

⁷ V, 222, Munro's translation.

⁸ 936.

the water, "just as a vessel at times cannot rest, until the liquid within has ceased to sway about in unsteady undulations."⁹

Few great poets have been more sparing in the use of mere poetical adornment than has Lucretius. His imaginative analogies are more often hidden in a single expression than drawn out in detail, but the few he has elaborated stand out, as has been said "with the solidity of the finest sculpture to embody some deep and powerful thought for all times."

⁹ Munro's translation, VI, 554.

MR. SHAW AND THE *APOLOGY* OF SOCRATES

By W. A. OLDFATHER
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Mr. George Bernard Shaw has taken occasion recently, apropos of rendering more plausible his own interpretation of the character of Joan of Arc, to offer a novel and somewhat startling estimate of the defense which Socrates made when on trial for his life. It runs as follows:

"Now it is always hard for superior wits to understand the fury roused by their exposures of comparative dullards. Even Socrates, for all his age and experience, did not defend himself at his trial like a man who understood the long accumulated fury that had burst on him, and was clamoring for his death. His accuser, if born 2300 years later, might have been picked out of any first class carriage on a suburban railway during the evening or morning rush from or to the City; for he had really nothing to say except that he and his like could not endure being shown up as idiots every time Socrates opened his mouth. Socrates, unconscious of this, was paralyzed by his sense that somehow he was missing the point of the attack. He petered out after he had established the fact that he was an old soldier and a man of honorable life, and that his accuser was a silly snob. He had no suspicion of the extent to which his mental superiority had roused fear and hatred against him in the hearts of men towards whom he was conscious of nothing but good will and good service" (Preface to *Saint Joan*, New York, 1924, pp. vii-viii).

Mr. Shaw is here, as often, thought-provoking; as too often, however, and especially when dealing with matters in which it is possible to ascertain positive facts only by what he would presumably disdain as pedantry or drudgery, Mr. Shaw is in this case demonstrably more than half wrong. Like any sincere and unpretentious man of good will, Socrates did no doubt hardly understand why the hatred of the intellectually inferior should be so

bitter, their resentment so cruel at having their abysmal ignorance, their petty vanities, and conceits of knowledge exposed. But it is a travesty upon literary and historical criticism to represent him as simply "petering out" "after he had established the fact that he was an old soldier and a man of honorable life, and that his accuser was a silly snob." Socrates knew well enough the kind of thing to say that would have secured acquittal. Hear his own words addressed to the jury immediately after his condemnation:

"You think that I was convicted through deficiency of words — I mean, that if I had thought fit to leave nothing undone, nothing unsaid, I might have gained an acquittal. Not so; the deficiency which led to my conviction was not of words — certainly not. But I had not the boldness or impudence or inclination to address you as you would have liked me to address you, weeping and wailing and lamenting, and saying and doing many things which you have been accustomed to hear from others, and which, as I say, are unworthy of me. But I thought that I ought not to do anything uncommon or mean in the hour of danger: nor do I now repent of the manner of my defence, and I would rather die having spoken after my manner, than speak in your manner and live" (*Apology* 38 d-e, Jowett's translation).

Socrates met his death *not* out of inability to realize his danger, or lack of intelligence sufficient to grasp the most effective kind of appeal to make. Rather he almost deliberately *sought* death; at all events, he deliberately *met* a death which he could have avoided on any one of several occasions, if he had been willing to swerve but a hair's breadth from his habitual conduct. It is doubtful if there could have been found in all Athens a single man who, when the charge was first filed, expected Socrates actually to come to his death. He was not put under arrest, and was at perfect liberty to dispose of his small property and go to friends in Thebes, or Megara, or elsewhere, or to accept the flattering invitation to the court of King Archelaus of Macedonia. The same general charge had been brought more than once before (against Anaxagoras, Protagoras, and probably Diagoras), as once later (against Aris-

totle), and every one else took the hint and quietly left town without any unpleasantness, just as had been expected.

But Socrates stayed, undoubtedly to men's great surprise, and yet made no preparations for the case. The greatest living orator, Lysias, wrote him an adroit speech, which if presented, must certainly have procured acquittal, but Socrates would have none of it. To another friend who remonstrated with him for making no preparations he replied in effect: "But I *have* been making preparations all my life long by living an honorable and upright life" (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, IV, 8, 4-5; *Apology*, 2-4). What could one do for a man who was so transparently honest, and so set on sticking to his principles, come what might? And when he finally rose to speak, he explained, he advised, he exhorted, but, despite the apparent suggestion in the modern feeling about the word "apology," he apologized never. No court had ever been so frankly treated for just what it was, a mere crowd of average citizens in the presence of an intellectual and moral superman, who quietly but firmly yielded not a jot of his right and authority to act as the superior that he was.

Even under such provocation it was only by a small majority that he was declared guilty. Surely, everyone must have thought, when the alternative penalties are called for, Socrates will yield gracefully, by proposing either exile or a heavy fine or both, which would undoubtedly have been accepted by the court. Nothing of the kind. He had the frankness to assert that as a matter of fact he ought to be pensioned as a benefactor of the state, instead of punished, and finally, as a mere condescension to technicalities, proposed a fine of \$18, when, as he caught the horrified expressions of his friends who knew what so debonair gesture meant with a great court already angry at being so flouted and talked down to, he added in effect, like the mere afterthought that it was, and almost with a yawn: "Oh, well, make it \$500; that is more than I can pay, but some of my friends will go my bond" (*Apology*, 38b).

Of course the alternative penalty of death was voted after such treatment of the court, but even then, although many were glad

the philosopher had been taught a lesson, I doubt if any large number actually expected him to die. He was not carefully guarded; his friends were allowed to come in large numbers to see him, and might easily have overpowered the single guard or jailer (*Crito* 43a, etc.) and carried him off, probably to almost everyone's relief. Indeed the simple matter of bribing a willing official¹ had all been attended to by Crito a day or two before the date set for execution, and some kind of an understanding reached about what might be expected actually from Socrates' prosecutors themselves,² when he resolutely refused over and over again to do even so little in his own behalf as to walk out of an open door!

No, the analogy with Joan limps badly. It may be that she lost her life partly because she could not understand why people disliked her so, but she was eager to escape and tried desperate means in order to do so; she actually recanted once in order to save her life, and went to the stake only because the recantation, while it

¹ The guard, of whom Crito says euphemistically, "I have done him a kindness" (*Crito* 43a).

² This is the clear presupposition of a passage like *Crito* 44b-c: "People who do not know you and me will believe that I might have saved you if I had been willing to give money" (Jowett); especially 45a-b: "There are persons who at no great cost are willing to save you and bring you out of prison; and as for the informers (sycophants), you may observe that they are far from being exorbitant in their demands; a little money will satisfy them. My means, which, as I am sure, are ample, are at your service . . . and here are strangers who will give you the use of theirs" etc. (Jowett); and 45e-46a: "the end of all, which is the crowning absurdity, will seem to have been permitted by us, through cowardice and baseness, who might have saved you, as you might have saved yourself, if we had been good for anything, for there was no difficulty in escaping" (Jowett). It is important, to observe that no trouble is apprehended from the relatively reputable enemies of Socrates, his responsible accusers in court, but only from the sycophants, who were ready to blackmail a wealthy man without any regard to the character of his offense against the law. Clearly, therefore, there was no widespread demand for the death of Socrates, since not even his accusers were clamoring for it. Either they had already been approached with bribes or pressure, which seems less likely, or else it was well known from their general attitude that they would cause no further trouble, either because their main purpose of silencing the philosopher had been accomplished, and they were no longer hot for vengeance upon him, or else at least because they realized that they could not count on popular support in any action against his liberators.

preserved life indeed, lost her everything that made life worth living, so that she deliberately chose death as the less of two evils. But Socrates certainly did not blunder into his doom, since he did not, as Mr. Shaw's argument presupposes, make any serious effort to escape death.

In fairness also to the Athenians, it ought to be added that it was they rather who blundered into the crime. Of course a handful of fanatics may have wished to have Socrates actually killed, but it was rather what looked like persistent contumacy and effrontery on his part that turned the scale finally against him. It was a case of playing with a loaded weapon. A very dangerous instrument was invoked to silence the talker, and then he surprised everyone by calling the bluff. Prestige required that the threat when once defied must be executed. It was folly rather than malice.

AN INTRODUCTORY GREEK COURSE

By FRANCES ANGEVINE GRAY
East High School, Rochester, N. Y.

The claim is frequently made for the study of Greek that it is of immense cultural value, putting the student in contact with one of the most wonderful of the world's literatures, acquainting him with the thought of Sophocles, Pindar, and Socrates, and introducing him to the artistic spirit of the people who created the Parthenon and the Olympian Zeus. Whether the traditional high-school course in Greek, restricted in the main to linguistic interests, accomplishes this desirable result is very doubtful. Few will deny that it is possible for a boy or girl to study first-year Greek, Xenophon, and even Homer, and remain as ignorant of Greek drama, art, or philosophy as his neighbor who takes the commercial course. For only the very exceptional student (in these days) who continues Greek in college are these far-reaching claims about its cultural value likely to be realized.

A desire to give every student, no matter how short a time he continues his Greek, some real contact with the phases of Greek civilization which have made it immortal has led, in the East High School of Rochester, New York, to the introduction of a course in Greek culture for one semester preliminary to the study of the language. This course has been given to eight successive beginning classes. As the working up of such a course involves considerable time and labor, it has been thought that other teachers might like to have the benefit of our experience. It may be said at the outset that the material for such work is almost unlimited, so that our personal selection has been determined principally by such practical considerations as the material ready at hand in our school library, rather than by any other principles

of selection. The possibilities of variation are very great, but it is hoped that an outline of the work as we have given it may be of some suggestive value.

We begin on the first day with a discussion, from a map of Greece, of the physical characteristics of the country, indicating the possible effect of its various features on the inhabitants. To illustrate briefly, the deeply indented coast-line, which afforded excellent harbors, from early days encouraged them to become a seafaring people. The mountains, while they afforded them protection from invaders, were also the cause of their being divided into rival, jealous factions and were partially responsible for their fatal lack of any national unity. The marvelous scenery and climate may conceivably have tended to develop their unrivaled aesthetic sense, etc. A lantern-slide lecture is usually given early in the term, showing views of Greek scenery, and books of travel in Greece are suggested. Horton's *In Argolis* is particularly attractive and interesting. For the next day the class is told to draw a map of Greece as a frontispiece for their notebooks, which constitute an important part of the work. No one textbook is required for the course, but each pupil is advised to buy some one book, preferably a standard mythology, such as Bulfinch's, Gayley's, or Guerber's, or Tarbell's *Greek Art*. Wide general reading on anything connected with Greece, the country or the people, ancient or modern, is emphasized, and a report of outside reading is handed in once a week.

After geography, the next topic studied is naturally mythology, since so many of the great achievements of the Greeks grew out of their religious spirit. In the first-year Latin classes Hawthorne's *Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales* have already been recommended for outside reading, so that even children who have the least background come to the course with some slight knowledge of the gods of the Greek religion. The stories of the gods and goddesses are first taken up, and later in the term we return to the legends of the heroes, and various other myths. One section in the notebook records the really surprising number of English words traceable to Greek myths, such as herculean,

titanic, phaeton, volcano, atlas, martial, argonaut, chimaera, panic, etc., while in another the students preserve clippings from modern advertisements that presuppose a common knowledge of mythology. Venus pencils, Narcissus mirrors, Ajax tires, are a few examples out of very many. Members of the class who are interested in music sometimes make a list of musical compositions inspired by Greek themes, such as Gluck's opera, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, Nevin's *Narcissus*, etc.

The subject of architecture is one that usually interests classes. They draw diagrams for their notebooks of the three types of columns, and write descriptions of buildings around the city which are wholly or partially Greek in design or spirit, and save pictures which they find of other classical buildings. Sculpture is taken up in more detail, and we usually spend about three weeks on it, using Tarbell's *Greek Art* as a textbook, studying the reproductions and casts of Greek sculpture in the schools and the Art Gallery, and illustrating other material with photographs and slides.

Naturally the greater part of the time is devoted to literature in translation. Homer is, of course, the first author to be taken up, and in connection with the Trojan War, which is first considered as pure fable, we discuss Dr. Schliemann's discoveries with their proof of the existence of Troy and Mycenae, and the possibility of a historic basis for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The reading of Dr. Schliemann's fascinating story of his own life in the introduction to his *Troia* is recommended, and also Jennie Hall's *Buried Cities*. The class has previously read the *Odyssey* in their English course, and will later read some of the *Iliad* in the original, but we read some of the famous passages from the latter in Bryant's translation, such as the "Parting of Hector and Andromache," or the "Mourning for Hector."

We spend only a day on lyric poetry, for the beauty of the fragments from the Greek Anthology does not particularly appeal to high-school pupils, and Pindar is naturally beyond them.

For the literary work, Wright's "Masterpieces of Greek Literature" affords a very good selection and our library owns a num-

ber of copies. Among the historians Herodotus furnishes an interesting topic, and the *Young Folks' Herodotus* makes attractive outside reading. Thucydides is more difficult to present than the great story-teller, and Xenophon is passed over rather rapidly and postponed for more intimate acquaintance later.

Since this is not a course in history, laws, wars, and constitutional development are but lightly touched on. Sparta and the Spartan system is a topic so interesting as to deserve to be an exception. Then, too, the Persian wars furnish so significant a turning-point in the cultural development of Greece, and the stories of Marathon and Thermopylae are so priceless a heritage in the annals of human heroism that we spend a few days in discussing them, ending with the reading of Browning's "Pheidippides." The Peloponnesian War and the conquest of Alexander also help to supply a framework into which to fit much of the other phases of the work. Historical novels that deal with Greece are, of course, a valuable teaching medium, and we recommend strongly Snedeker's *The Spartan* and *The Perilous Seat*, and Davis' *The Victor of Salamis* for the period of the Persian wars, and *Gorgo* by Gaines for the war between Athens and Sparta.

Drama is one of the most interesting parts of the course. We discuss first the development of the form of the Greek theater and its modern descendants, and the evolution of tragedy from the early "goat-song." Then we read in class three or four complete tragedies. We usually begin with the *Alcestis*, because the fact that it is nearer to the modern ideas in being essentially a "love-story" and having a "happy ending" gives it an immediate appeal. Our pupils feel an additional interest in it because former students in the school once gave a presentation of this play, and the photographs of this performance aid their imaginations greatly. We usually use Way's translation. Witter Bynner's translation of *Iphigenia in Tauris* is beautiful and appealing. Then we read the *Antigone* of Sophocles, and the class enjoys dramatizing some of the scenes, and they are also required to hand in character sketches of the principal characters. Aeschylus is naturally a difficult dramatist to approach, but classes have

several times asked to have Mrs. Browning's *Prometheus Bound* read, and they seemed to get something out of it. *Stories from the Greek Tragedians* by Church (which performs somewhat the same service in this field as Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*) is suggested for outside reading.

Greek comedy is surprising in its perennial freshness. We read the translation of *The Birds* in "Masterpieces of Greek Literature," and the class is always delighted with it. Selections from *The Frogs* can also be read, and doubtless many others to which we have not had access are available. *The Fifteenth Idyll* of Theocritus always pleases and surprises pupils with its humor and its portrayal of some of the unchanging elements of human nature. This sketch of the two Syracusan women at the festival at Alexandria always amazes a class with its wholly "modern" quality.

About the middle of the term it is interesting to test the impression that the work has made on their imaginations by asking them to write a theme, imagining themselves back in Athens in the days of Pericles, and describing some event from their lives. In almost every class there are papers that show real imagination, and occasionally one or two that have decided poetic beauty.

The subject of philosophy is one where we can not hope to do a great deal with a high-school class. But it is possible to give them some idea of the meaning of the terms "Stoic," "Cynic," "Epicurean," etc., and to afford them some slight acquaintance with the teaching and character of Socrates. The selections from the *Crito* and the *Phaedo* from the "Masterpieces of Greek Literature" which deal with the last days of Socrates they find comprehensible, with explanations from the teacher, and the story of his death never fails to be powerfully moving and enthralling.

This introductory course usually takes about four months, leaving the last four weeks for the beginning of the language. Any time so "lost" from the regular course is made up later without difficulty, partly because we are not under any such pressure to cover ground in Greek as in Latin, and partly because the Greek pupils are a selected group, as we allow no one to elect

Greek who has not already shown in his Latin work some evidences of linguistic ability.

One question may suggest itself to the reader. What is there in this course which cannot be given in the history classes? Obviously nothing, if the history teachers had the time to do it, which, equally obviously, they have not. A proof that we are not merely duplicating the work of any other department has been furnished us several times when members of the senior class have elected the introductory Greek work. So far from feeling it a repetition in any sense of what they have already had in the regular history classes, these pupils are usually among the most interested and enthusiastic members of the class. But then most teachers will agree that in no field are we in any serious danger of teaching too much or too thoroughly.

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME FELLOWSHIPS IN THE SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

The American Academy in Rome announces its annual competitions for the Fellowships in Classical Studies. There is one Fellowship for two years and one Fellowship (and possibly two) for one year. The annual stipend of each is \$1,250, with residence in the Academy free of charge. There is opportunity for extensive travel, including a trip to Greece. The competitions are open to unmarried men or women who are citizens of the United States. Entries will be received until March 1st.

Attention is called to the following general regulations: Persons desiring to compete for one of these Fellowships must fill out a form of application and file it with the Secretary, together with letters of recommendation, not later than March 1st. They must submit evidence of attainment in Latin literature, Greek literature, Greek and Roman history and archaeology, and also ability to use German and French. A knowledge of Italian is strongly recommended. They will be required to present published or unpublished papers so as to indicate their fitness to undertake special work in Rome.

The Fellows will be selected by a jury of nine eminent scholars without examination other than the submission of the required papers.

For detailed circular and application blank apply to Roscoe Guernsey, Executive Secretary of the Academy, 101 Park Avenue, New York City.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

NOTES IN ILLUSTRATION

1. *Of the easy reading displacing the hard.*

Being in Rome during the publication of *Horace and His Influence*, I was denied the very necessary privilege of revising its page proof. Among the distressing results was, that in Milton's

"Hapless they
To whom thou untried seem'st fair. Me in my vow'd
Picture, the sacred wall declares to have hung
My dank and dropping weeds
To the stern god of sea,"

the words "hapless" and "dropping," the first unknown and the second unfamiliar to printer and proofreader, appeared as "hopeless" and "dripping." In making corrections for the second edition, I twice gave direction as to the precise nature of the changes to be made, and even after that received a doubting letter asking me once more to write them out. It is not long since I had a line of Lucretius also come back, from another source, with my "hapless" altered to "hopeless." Meanwhile, I have been thought guilty of misquoting Milton twice in one short poem.

2. *Of the precariousness of the literal translation.*

No one will deny that

Noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere . . .

Sed puerum est ausus Romam portare . . .

may mean that Horace's father did not send him to school in Venusia, (Dennis, C. J. XX, 491-2) but no one can prove that it does not mean that the father's unwillingness became effective only after the boy had had time to show promise, and the local school time to demonstrate its weaknesses. In Rome in 1921-3, I myself was unwilling to send my son to the local school, and dared to undertake his instruction

myself ; but I had sent him to the local school for nearly a year before I became unwilling. My statement does not clearly say that, but if I should add, as Horace did add, a generous amount of lively detail that sounded like first-hand impressions, the reader might suspect the real state of the case. And besides, as the critic himself says, "One might naturally suppose that Horace attended school at Venusia."

3. *Of the same.*

Of course it is apparent that in the passage about Horace on a nag "cantering down the Appian Way" (Dennis, *ibid.*) I am not translating

Nunc mihi curto

Ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum,

but referring to it in the visualization of the poet engaged in a characteristic act. Horace may in his lifetime have ridden a mule, but this sentence is anything but a proof of it. For him to contrast his present unpretentious state with what would be his lot as a patrician, and to say that "now, I can go on a mule, if I please, even as far as Tarentum," must mean that Tarentum and the mule represent a distance and a style of transportation both extreme and unusual. I continue to see Horace on the golden mean of a nag, and cantering.

4. *Of the perils of plagiarism for author and critic.*

In writing of Aristius Fuscus, the watch of whose wit was ever wound and ready to strike, I am criticised for striking a false note (Dennis, *ibid.*). Since *Odes* I,22, *Satires* I,9, and *Epistles* I,10 have always made me think of Aristius Fuscus as a humorist and a wit, it seemed to me that the characterization of him in a neat phrase from a favorite play of Shakespeare would give the reader pleasure, as it gave me pleasure. I see now that I should have used quotation marks and a footnote. Watches that strike and phrases from the English classics are not so familiar as they once were. Fifteen years ago a reviewer charged me with quoting the Bible without giving credit, and I have many times since felt when using what I considered current and even well-worn literary coin that I was choosing between the reputation for theft and the actual guilt of pedantry. It seems that there is the third risk of being charged with tasteless invention.

GRANT SHOWERMAN

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

LIVY I, 9, 13

INCUSANTES VIOLATI HOSPITII FOEDUS

The usual interpretation is, "complaining of a treaty of hospitality violated," that is, "complaining of the violation of a treaty of hospitality alleged to exist." For the participle to carry the leading idea, as in such a phrase as *incusantes violatum hospitium* or *foedus*, is common enough. But the phrase actually used calls, in the current interpretation, for an adjustment of sense to grammar by relaying the object of *incusantes* back from *foedus* to *hospitii* and thence to *violati*. This is bold use of language even for Livy. Elsewhere (VIII, xxiii, 4) he writes plainly *incusabant iniurias*.

Further, we are told in ix,5 that the request of the Romans for *societas* and *conubium* was spurned by the very people who are now supposed to be alleging a *foedus* with them. Proponents of the usual interpretation must soften *foedus* down so as to make it mean a tacit understanding implicit in the Roman invitation, which the excitement of the parents leads them to exaggerate.

If we were to translate instead, "complaining of a conspiracy of violated hospitality, i.e. to violate hospitality," we should have plain sense and syntax, with *foedus* the object in sense as in grammar, and characterized by the genitive modifier as in Cicero's *incredibile sceleris foedus* (*Cat. II*, 4, 8).

Of course such a "frame-up" is described immediately before the passage in question and particularly branded by the phrases *ex industria* (6) and *ex composito* (10).

CLYDE MURLEY

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

A SPECIFIC POINT IN WHICH LATIN CAN HELP
ENGLISH

As teacher and editor I have heard and seen many, many times errors in the case of the interrogative and relative pronouns when followed by a parenthetical clause. Illustrations given by Woolley are, "Whom did they say won?" and, "The man whom I thought was my friend deceived me." Such a construction can be justified neither by Shakespeare's "Young Ferdinand, whom they suppose is drown'd . . ." (*The Tempest*, III, iii, 92), nor by the biblical "Whom do men say that I am?" (Mark viii, 27).

I believe that there is no common error which teachers of Greek and Latin have a better opportunity to correct, and I am positive that the best chance for a teacher to be a dragon-slayer is provided by the first two Catiline orations. In the very first lesson (1,1,1) we find, *quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris?* It is only the exceptional student who translates this correctly, "Who of us, think you, does not know?"

There are six more opportunities to drive this point home, viz.: *quos ego . . . venturos esse praedixeram* (1, 4, 10); *quem . . . ad custodiendum te diligentissimum . . . fore putasti* (1, 8, 19); *quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem expectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis* (1, 11, 27); *quos video volitare in foro* (2, 3, 5); *quem iam ingressum esse in bellum videbam?* (2, 6, 14); *gladiatores, quam [=quos] sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit* (2, 12, 26). The infinitive *volitare* is usually translated by a participle, but I am inclined to believe that a finite verb makes it more vivid.

Other examples from the traditional six orations are *quos . . . esse inflammatos sciebam* (Cat., 3, 2, 4) and *Medea illa . . . quam praedicant . . . dissipavisse* (*De Imperio Cn. Pompeii*, 9, 22).

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

MURAL ELECTIONEERING, ANCIENT AND MODERN

It has been estimated (by Gusman, *Pompeii*, p. 204) that we have record of nearly two thousand Pompeian electioneering notices of a date subsequent to the earthquake of A.D. 63. They are divided among one hundred and sixteen candidates. Many of them may be found in convenient form in Diehl, *Pompeianische Wandinschriften und Verwandtes*, pp. 9-13. I quote three of them: *Casellium vindemitores aed. rog.* (*op. cit.*, No. 160); *Popidium Rufum aed. pisci-capi facite* (No. 181); *C. Iulium Polybium aed. o. v. f., panem bonum fert* (No. 179).

The Italians still make mural appeals for votes. Several years ago I copied one that had been chalked on a wall in a small street of the Trastevere. It runs as follows: *Per l'anno venturo siete tutti compatti nel votare per l'onorevole Sirecchia*, which may be translated, "For the coming year all stand solid in voting for the honorable Sirecchia."

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; A. T. Walker, the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

Inglewood.— June 12, 1925, was made memorable for the members of the Blateronian Society, the Latin club of the Inglewood Union High School, as the date of the annual Roman banquet. Members assembled garbed in Roman costume at the "eleventh hour" in a flower-garlanded room, where Venus, as patron goddess, sat enthroned. Small replicas of a Roman temple marked the places of the guests, and within were found the menu and program.

After the invocation to Jove small slaves served the meal, crowned the guests with garlands, and attended them with fingerbowls and towels.

Between courses the assembled company received entertainment in the form of a Roman dance, a Latin reading, and a Latin student song. At the conclusion of the three courses "wine" was served, and officers for the coming year were installed, the installation ceremony being pronounced in Latin. The affair was under the direction of Miss Dorothy P. Williams, of the Latin department of the school.

Los Angeles.— The *Antigone* of Sophocles was presented in May at the University of California, Southern Branch, under the direction of Miss Evalyn Thomas, director of the department of dramatics of the University. The setting of the play was exceptionally beautiful,

and the characteristic features of the dramatic art of the Greeks were faithfully reproduced. The acting was also of a high order of merit. This is the eighth play to Miss Thomas's credit in Los Angeles, while she has directed two at Stanford University as visiting member of the English faculty at summer sessions.

Pasadena. — On November 20th and 21st the students of the California Institute of Technology presented the *Captivi* of Plautus in Culbertson Hall, their third venture into the classical field. Two years ago they gave the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, and last year Terence's *Phormio*. The plays are given in English and the enterprise is characteristic of an institution which is indeed devoted to engineering and science, but in which cultural studies are not neglected. The performance was very creditable to Pi Kappa Delta, from whose membership the actors were drawn, and especially to Gilmor Brown, Director of the Pasadena Community Play House, under whose direction the play was given.

Florida

Tallahassee. — The Classical Club of Florida State College for Women completed its most successful year in 1924-25 with a membership of over three hundred students. Monthly programs of a varied and instructive nature were given, among the most attractive of which were: an illustrated lecture on Rome and Italy by a member of the faculty just returned from Europe; a representation of the Roman Saturnalia, and an adaptation of Professor Robinson's play, *Christus Parvulus*, at Christmas; a burlesque *Tragedy of Julius Caesar* on the Ides of March; and a dramatization of the myth of Pandora.

The work of the year fittingly culminated in the presentation on May 28 of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides. The play was under the direction of Miss Olivia N. Dorman, Assistant Professor of Classics, and Miss Edith West, Instructor of Classics, and was received with much enthusiasm. The out-of-door setting contributed greatly to the charm of the play, and the well-sustained acting of the "leads" interpreted with accuracy the spirit of the Euripidean drama to a sympathetic audience. The translation of Gilbert Murray was used, and music for the choral odes was composed by Miss Dorman. Under her supervision students in the department developed the

evolutions of the chorus and designed the costumes, basing them on models seen in Greek vase-paintings. The carefully harmonized color-scheme and pictorial effect thus produced greatly enhanced the effectiveness of the play. The *Iphigenia* was acclaimed a marked success by all who saw it, and won added distinction on the campus for the Department of Classics.

Kentucky

Bowling Green.—The eleventh annual meeting of the Kentucky Classical Association was held on Nov. 6 and 7, at Western Kentucky Teachers College, Bowling Green. On Friday afternoon and Saturday morning there were many discussions of interest to teachers of the classics. Some of the topics discussed were: "How to Keep Alive a Latin Club," "How Much Time for First-Year Latin?" "Making Latin Palatable," "How to Induce High School Pupils to Continue Latin in College," "The Best Thing I Think I Do in Latin Teaching."

In addition to these general discussions there were talks on various topics. Miss Alice Record, of Pikeville College, told of her summer in the American Academy at Rome; Dr. W. J. Grinstead from Eastern Kentucky Teachers College read a paper on "The Latin Teacher's Use of the Classical League Word Count"; "The Effect of the New K. E. A. Constitution on the Language Division" was presented by Miss Molly Coyle of the Kentucky Home School; Dr. C. E. Little, of Peabody College for Teachers, spoke on the topic, "Roman Influence in Early England."

On Friday night Dr. Frank J. Miller, of the University of Chicago, editor of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, and president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, delivered an address, "The Interpretation of the *Aeneid* as a National Epic," to a large audience in the main auditorium of Teachers College.

Nebraska

Hastings.—The Latin section of the Fourth District of the Nebraska State Teachers' Association met Thursday afternoon November 7th, at Hastings, Nebraska. After the business session, at which Miss Firth, of Walnut Junior High School of Grand Island, was elected president, and Miss Flossie Varney, of Ord, secretary-treasurer, Mr. Chester Lynch, of Hartwell, Nebraska, gave a paper

on better motivation of first- and second-year Latin. This was followed by interesting discussion, and later by an address by Dr. Briggs, of Columbia, on the cultural value of Latin. Over seventy people were present, most of them Latin teachers from the twenty counties comprising the Fourth District. Altogether, it was the most successful meeting the Latin section has had since the state was divided into districts.

Ohio

Columbus.—The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Classical Conference was held in Columbus on November 12-14, with Ohio State University as host. Among the principal speakers were Professor J. V. Denney, of Ohio State University, on "Plutarch and Shakespeare," Professor Capps, of Princeton, on "The Need of Greek in the High School," and Professor DeSauzé, of Cleveland, on "Experiments in First-Year Latin." Both the large city and the small country high schools were represented on the program in a series of valuable pedagogical papers. The meeting of the College Section, held in advance of the other sections, was unusually well attended and the papers were of a high order of excellence. About 250 teachers of the classics from all parts of the state were present. Local visitors brought the attendance at some of the sessions as high as 400.

Social features of the conference were an afternoon tea and an evening reception given by the Columbus Latin Club and a dinner at the Hotel Chittenden. Professor Lord, of Oberlin, was toast-master on this occasion, and music was furnished by the Glee Club of Capital University. An amusing playlet was also put on under the direction of Miss Hare, of East High School, Columbus.

At the business meeting announcement was made of the affiliation of the Conference with the Ohio State Teachers' Association with the provision of meeting separately, however, as heretofore. Officers for the coming year were chosen as follows: Professor Victor D. Hill, of Ohio University, president; Professor Wallace S. Elden, of Ohio State University, first vice-president; Mrs. J. E. Olivenbaum, of West High School, Cleveland, second vice-president; Miss Bertha M. Winch, of Roosevelt High School, Dayton, third vice-president; Professor Frank L. Clark, of Miami University, secretary-treasurer. The next meeting is to be held at the University of Cincinnati.

An impressive closing feature of the conference was the presentation of a full-size, silver replica of the Hildesheim *crater* to the conference and its award this year to the Wilmington High School. This beautiful prize is to be awarded each year to the high school presenting the best exhibit at the Latin Laboratory held in connection with the conference. An excellent spirit of friendly co-operation was evident throughout the meeting, which was generally regarded as one of the best classical meetings ever held in the state.

The program of papers was as follows:

LINDLEY R. DEAN, Denison University:

"Greek Fortifications."

SISTER MARY GONZAGA, Ursuline College:

"Notes on Paratactic KAI in the New Testament."

LEIGH ALEXANDER, Oberlin College:

"Catullus: friend."

HOMER F. REBERT, Western Reserve University:

"The Temple of Concord in the Roman Forum."

MARTHA WHITTIER OLIVENBAUM, West Junior High School, Cleveland:

"Type Lessons Used in Eighth Grade Classes at West Junior High School, Cleveland."

LILLIAN WOODRUFF, Ashtabula High School, Ashtabula:

"Twentieth Century Vergil."

FRANCES E. THOMSON, Medina High School, Medina:

"The Value of Latin in the Small High School."

RUTH E. JENKINS, Central High School, Findlay:

"The Comparative Values of Standard Latin Tests."

J. V. DENNEY, Ohio State University:

"Plutarch and Shakespeare."

EDWARD CAPPS, Princeton University:

"The Need of Greek in the High School."

ZETTA BAKER, Donnell Junior High School, Findlay:

"Methods of Teaching Vocabulary in First-Year Latin."

E. B. DESAUZÉ, Director of Foreign Languages, Cleveland Public Schools:

"Experiments in First-Year Latin."

CLARA F. MILLIGAN, North High School, Columbus:

"Report on the Ohio Latin Service Committee."

ROSALIE HOHLER, Oberlin College:

"The Hildesheim Treasure."

Book Reviews

An Anthology of Medieval Latin. Chosen by Stephen Gaselee. London: Macmillan, 1925. xii+139 pp., 12mo. 7s. 6d.

In Great Britain as well as in this country there has been in recent years more or less attempt to encourage the study of Latin of a period later than that which justly attracts our most serious attention. But such extension of the range of his reading has been hampered for the ordinary student by the lack of suitable textbooks, except, perhaps, in a single department of literature, that of mediaeval Christian hymns. Mr. Gaselee's charmingly printed volume is, to be sure, not fashioned (*editori gratias!*) after the traditional manner of a textbook, but it may well become a most tempting introduction into an unfamiliar field of reading. Most of the selections appear to have been chosen for their inherent interest, and not primarily for the purpose of displaying ossified fragments of what was once a living organism. This is certainly as it should be. The book is to be read for pleasure. I could wish it were longer. But even its comparatively few pages give one most attractive glimpses into the realm of mediaeval life and expression.

Mr. Gaselee opens his treasury with nineteen specimens of Pompeian *graffiti* and of epitaphs in the unlearned style. Then follows a bit of the conversation of the guests at Trimalchio's Dinner. Then, a battle-scene (Macc. I, 6, 33 ff.) from the *Vetus Italia*. And with the fourth selection (there are only forty-five in all) we come to St. Ambrose, and are fairly launched into the later world. But that does not stop with the Renaissance. The editor carries his selections down to a Latin letter of the Abbot of Einsiedeln written in 1916, and complements the humor of the Goliardics with an amusing little speech in alleged Latin delivered by Lord Dufferin in Iceland in 1856. The Preface and the introductory notes to the several passages give useful information about literature. Especially to be commended is a note (p. 126) on the influence of the French accent (or lack of accent) on the versification of Latin written by French scholars.

Mr. Gaselee, as a loyal mediaevalist, sticks to his *mumpsimus*. He prints *j* for consonantal *i*, and says he would not be sorry to see that "good old fashion . . . return to texts of the classical authors as well." Of course he prints *v* for consonantal *u*. But, equally of course, neither of these devices is justified whether by mediaeval use or by convenience. We even manage to get along without introducing differentiated signs for long and short vowels, though they would be a great convenience, and to others than schoolboys.

In the passage from Maccabees (p. 12) Mr. Gaselee prefers the emendation *Indus* to the MS. reading *intus*. The emendation is easy; it may correspond to a fact; it is generally accepted. But I do not feel at all certain that it is right. There is no apparent reason for the author to specify that the mahout of each of the elephants was an Indian. On the other hand, as he is describing the population of the howdah, he might very well remark that it sheltered not merely the fighting men, but also the mahout. In time of battle the driver certainly would need such protection as much as did the warriors. Surely the killing of the mahout would work disaster to the armament, and it seems unlikely that he would be exposed to unnecessary peril. But at less strenuous times he might perch, as I understand he does nowadays, on the elephant's neck in front of the howdah. The contrast between the ordinary and the battle custom may have prompted the specification of his post. I should be disposed to retain the MS. reading.

Another question is prompted by the same passage (p. 11). The king's men are said to have displayed (*ostenderunt*) to the elephants "the blood of grape and mulberry (*sanguinem uuae et mori*)" to incite them to the battle. This "mysterious passage," as the editor calls it, may record merely a bit of sympathetic magic, of which we cannot now trace the origin. But one remembers in medical jargon the use of "exhibit (*exhibere*)" in the sense of internal administration. The similarity of meaning with *ostendere* suggests the query whether the blood-red liquor was not perhaps given the elephants to drink.

It might have been well to enlarge somewhat the Appendix of Metrical Forms. A classical student, for example, might welcome the suggestion that the accentual dactylic tetrameter of *O admirabile Veneris ydolum* was ultimately derived from the classical Lesser Asclepiadic.

Mr. Gaselee translates (p. 9) the colloquial *modo sic, modo sic* by

"What we lose on the swings, we make up on the roundabouts." I am no expert on the hymnology of the English music-halls, but a properly indoctrinated scion of Oxford classical culture at my elbow (Mr. Gaselee is of Cambridge) assures me that the quotation should run,—

"What we lose on the roundabouts
We make up on the swings,"

and appeals to the rhythm to prove it. I think he must be right.

[But now that this trivial remark is already in print, I notice in Mr. J. C. Snaith's *The Council of Seven*, p. 237, that no less an authority than the Mayor of Blackhampton says, "But what they lose on the swings they get back on the roundabouts." Could Oxon have been wrong after all? Or did Mr. Gaselee follow, or independently duplicate, an error by His Worship, who clearly antedated him? The problem is referred to text-critics.]

E. T. M.

The Roman Toga. By LILLIAN M. WILSON. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archeology, No. 1.) The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore: 1924, pp. 132. \$5.00.

This volume fills a long-felt want. Despite the fact that there are to be found in modern texts numerous discussions of the Roman toga — Miss Wilson lists no less than twenty such in her bibliography — no adequate account of the subject has been available until the appearance of the present volume. Miss Wilson has not confined herself to the discussion of any single form of the toga, but has undertaken "to present a connected history of the toga, to trace the derivation of each succeeding form from those which preceeded it, and to correlate the evidence afforded by the monuments with that contained in classical literature." As a result of the author's indefatigable zeal, displayed especially in her study of the monuments and in experimentations on living models, we now have a virtually complete history of the toga, beginning with the simple form represented on the bronze Etrusco-Roman statue known as the "Arringatore," and attributed to the third century B.C., and ending with the forms represented on the consular diptychs of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., when the history of the toga ends.

The book contains four chapters, dealing successively with "The Toga of the Republican Period," "The Toga of the Ara Pacis Reliefs," "The Imperial Toga," and "Later Forms of the Toga." In these chapters the author has discussed and described no less than

eleven forms of the toga. Following the last chapter is an Appendix containing suggestions for the reconstruction and draping of the various forms of the garment. These suggestions will prove especially useful to high-school teachers and others who may have occasion to employ the toga in Roman plays.

The book is well provided with diagrams and with photographic reproductions of the monuments and of living models. This illustrative material is very helpful to the reader in following the discussions in the text. The discussions are, for the most part, convincing, and marred only by an occasional obscure statement or incorrect reference.

No one can read Miss Wilson's book and fail to be convinced of the essential soundness of the method she employs in attacking her problem. Though subsequent studies may lead to minor modifications of the views set forth in the book, the reviewer ventures to predict that, for many years to come, it will be regarded as the authoritative work on the Roman toga. Other studies of like nature by Miss Wilson will be welcomed.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

J. S. MAGNUSON

Die Heimkehr des Odysseus. Homers Odyssee in ihrer Ursprünglichen Gestalt Wiederhergestellt von Wilhelm Dörpfeld Übersetzt von Heinrich Rüter. Erster Band. München: Buchenau & Reichert Verlag. 1925.

This first volume is entirely the work of the great excavator, Dörpfeld, and gives his theories regarding the origin, culture, and geographical setting of the Homeric poems.

The author believes that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed in Europe to be sung at the court of the very warriors who fought at Troy, or of their sons. These poems were created in Greece, the *Iliad* near Phthia, the home of Achilles, and the *Odyssey* near Pylos, the home of Nestor, and belong to the same age. The Greeks driven across the Aegean by the invading Dorians took these priceless songs with them. These poems give a true picture of Achæan civilization as it was in the twelfth century.

The poet of the *Iliad* and that of the *Odyssey* delighted in the number ten, hence each poem covered the events of but ten days. The author does not go into great detail regarding the number ten and the *Iliad*, but he proves to himself beyond all question that the

Odyssey at first had ten books; each book telling the story of a single day.

The day Athena came from Olympus to encourage Telemachus was the day in which Odysseus set out from Calypso's Isle, thus the journeyings of the father and the son are exactly parallel. Telemachus was but a single night in Sparta, and the father a single night at the home of Alcinoüs. There was thus no time for the narrative of the adventures as given in the ninth to twelfth books. It took Odysseus but a single night to sail from the haunts of Calypso to the land of the Phæacians, and he not only built his boat in a single day but felled the trees for that boat on that same day as well.

The tenth day of the poem saw the death of the suitors. A reunion with the aged father was a necessary condition of the poem, but this would require an eleventh day, yet an eleventh day would ruin the symmetry of the poem; hence the meeting with the father came earlier in the poem, and this scene must be transposed to the forenoon of the day in which the suitors were slain. Now we see that he went to talk over with his father the plans for slaying the suitors, not the means of meeting the relatives of his victims.

The home of Calypso was at the tip of the heel of Italy, hence but a short sail to Corfu, the home of the Phæacians. Circe lived at the southern point of Africa near the Cape of Good Hope, hence Homer must have known of the circumnavigation of Africa, also the Læstrygones lived not far from Circe, while the Cyclops lived near the site of Carthage. Ithaca was beyond a doubt identical with Leukas.

The Mycenæan culture is not Cretan but came from Asia, carried by the Phœnicians who received it from the farther East. The two streams of Greek art are the native geometrical art and the oriental. There is no reason, he thinks, to believe that the Keftiu of Egyptian monuments are the Cretans, but on the contrary they are from the region near or in Syria.

The Homeric house shows two totally different types, the native type as found in the palace of Odysseus and of Nestor, the oriental as found in the home of Menelaus or in the ruins of Tiryns.

No one who has ever visited Troy and other ancient cities with Doctor Dörpfeld, as I have, can fail to wonder at the acumen and the sanity with which he attacks all archæological problems, but when he turns to the world of poetry and philology he seems as helpless as a dolphin on the land; it simply is not his element.

Everything in the Homeric poetry shows that the poet is singing of a glorious, golden past that is no more. The men of whom he sings are not the men he meets, and the gods who dine with men, who take on the form of men, who are tricked and wounded by men, have ceased in the poet's day to perform their epic parts. I can account for the phrase ἱππότης Νέστωρ, only on the theory that this vocative phrase from some old song was taken over by the poet and used as a nominative, but Nestor could not have been celebrated in any song earlier than Homer, if the *Odyssey* were the work of Nestor's own age.

No one has ever reconstructed an *Odyssey* comparable with the present poem. Had Telemachus spent but a day in Sparta there would have been no time for the weakling of the first books of the *Odyssey* to return as the sagacious hero of the last. Then if Odysseus had reached the land of the Phæacians in a single night, why that ravenous appetite? He took food with him in his little boat. If the distance from Ogygia was so slight that a man could venture to make the trip in a boat which he had constructed in a day, not only constructed but felled the trees as well, he must have been so near all the time that the adventure loses its glory and its magnitude.

However much of fact there may be in Homer, it is only a vague background for the poetry, for Odysseus moved through fairyland, and fairyland is not to be confined by metes and bounds.

JOHN A. SCOTT

Ovid. Metamorphoses. Selections required for entrance to college in the years 1926-1928. Edited by G. L. Kittredge and Thornton Jenkins. Boston: Ginn. \$0.52.

These selections from Ovid are as carefully edited and annotated as the edition of Virgil's *Aeneid* to which they are designed to be a companion volume. The five selections required for entrance to college are presented — "Deucalion and Pyrrha," "The Story of Phaëthon," "The Golden Fleece," "Philemon and Baucis," "Atalanta's Race" — only these, and no others. The handy English captions that divide the reading into easy stages for the preparatory-school pupil are used to good purpose as they are in the Greenough and Kittredge *Virgil*. Long quantities are indicated in the first selection to facilitate the reading of those pupils who meet Ovid as their first Roman poet.

A brief life of Ovid and a summary of his works, supplemented by a lengthier statement of the plan of the *Metamorphoses*, serve by way of introduction. This is followed by a simple explanation of dactylic verse, satisfactory except, perhaps, for one point, — the treatment of the final syllable of such verse (p. IX and p. XI).

The illustrations and notes are of interest and of service to a young reader. The notes pertaining to each selection are prefaced by a brief introduction that gives each story its proper setting.

This little book, inexpensive, of handy size, generously equipped with introduction, notes, and vocabulary, is entirely adequate to meet the requirement in Ovid.

SUSAN E. SHENNAN

NEW BEDFORD HIGH SCHOOL, MASSACHUSETTS

Greek Themes in Modern Musical Settings. By A. A. Stanley.
University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XV.
Macmillan Co., 1924. Cloth, \$4.00.

Teachers and students of the classics interested in the production of Greek tragedies will be gratified to learn of the publication of Professor Albert A. Stanley's book entitled, *Greek Themes in Modern Musical Settings*. Only those who have attempted to stage a Greek drama can fully appreciate the difficulties involved. Doubtless any student of ancient tragedy endowed with a feeling for the principles of Greek art and sufficient dramatic instinct will undertake the direction of the leading actors without undue misgivings; but the training of the chorus, involving as it does some knowledge of Greek music or, at least, of appropriate musical settings for the choral odes, interpretative choral dancing, and costume-designing on historically correct lines, proves a monumental task in itself. Professor Stanley's book offers an admirable solution for many of these difficulties. Its contents are: Part I, Incidental Music to the Drama of *Sappho and Phaon*, by Percy Mackaye; Part II, Music to the *Alcestis* of Euripides with English text; Part III, Music for the *Iphigenia Among the Taurians*, by Euripides, with Greek text; Part IV, Two Fragments of Ancient Greek Music; Part V, Music to Cantica of the *Menaechni* of Plautus; Part VI, *Attis*, a Symphonic Poem; and the Introduction, in which the author has given a survey of the extent and value of contributions on the subject of ancient Greek music, the material available and adaptable to present use, the end in view, and

the obstacles to be surmounted in "translating the art of one age into the terms of another."

In the *Alcestis* and the *Iphigenia*, Professor Stanley has chosen two of the most popular Greek plays for presentation in colleges and universities. The musical setting to the *Alcestis* was the one used for the performance of this drama at the University of Michigan in 1912, and is for an English translation. The music is adapted to both male and female voices and has instrumental accompaniments and special numbers for flute, clarinet, and harp. The composer has also given some explanatory statements from his own experience for the guidance of any who may contemplate producing this drama.

In the case of the *Iphigenia*, a much more comprehensive survey is given, based on the production of this tragedy at the same university in 1917. In addition to the choral music arranged for both Greek and English words with instrumental accompaniments for flutes, harp, and clarinets, and some explanations of certain metrical and rythmical peculiarities, Professor Stanley has included diagrams and detailed directions for the stage-setting and the dances, descriptions of the costumes used, and ten plates representing various evolutions of the chorus and dramatic scenes in the play. The choral settings based on authentic Greek modes solve a most difficult problem for anyone producing the *Iphigenia*, while the detailed discussions and especially the diagrams and photographs will furnish many helpful suggestions for other Greek dramas as well. By thus facilitating the presentation of ancient tragedy, Professor Stanley's book will render a great service to the cause of the classics.

OLIVIA N. DORMAN

FLORIDA STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

Homers Zorn des Achilleus und der Homeriden Ilias. By Eugen Petersen. Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1920. Pp. 138.

This book was left in fairly complete manuscript by the author, who died at the advanced age of eighty-four years. He had been a pupil of the illustrious F. G. Welcker and was in turn the teacher of the famous archæologist, Franz Studniczka, who edited this work on Homer.

The author follows the usual method of all the destructive critics of the Epic. He begins by selecting a kernel which alone is worthy of Homer, and then proceeds to show the great inferiority of the rest of the poem when compared with the work of this great poet.

The original poem dealt entirely with Achilles and contained about three thousand verses, or essentially one-fifth of our present *Iliad*. The disputed books nine and twenty-four deal with this hero and are thus part of the original poem, at least as much of these books as deals only with Achilles.

This really noble poem was slowly degraded by many inferior poets through several centuries, but these additions are easily to be detected by one who has caught the Homeric spirit.

This illustration of his manner and his method is typical: "An Homeric imitator did not shrink from the infamy of having the goddess deceive Hector, and how wretchedly did he put the scene in verse! This miserable intrusion which disgraced both Achilles and Hector can be removed without leaving a trace." This is a description of the scene in which Athena entices Hector to face and meet Achilles. This scene is indeed cruel and revolting, but that does not make it un-Homeric.

Someone put that scene in the *Iliad* and it has found a lasting place in that poem. It could have been put there by Homer and by no one else, for the Greeks would have allowed no other poet to make this inhuman intrusion.

There is one fact which no critics of Homer ever faced, yet is the one fact essential to all they write, and that fact is this: A people with the exquisite literary sense and taste of the Greeks would never have accepted interpolations which ruined the sense and harmony of their most treasured possession, the poetry of Homer. If one bard had been foolish enough to make absurd and contradictory changes in the Homeric text, why did all the other bards meekly follow? Was there not a single bard or man in all Greece competent to detect or to combat this degradation?

It is easy to account for preservation of defects coming from Homer himself, since there was no better with which to compare them; but no explanation has ever been given for a people like the Greeks meekly accepting inferior interpolations and substitutions, then throwing away and forgetting the better original.

At the foundation of this book and the vast number like it lies the false assumption that the Greeks had no literary appreciation, that they would eagerly accept miserable rubbish in the place of pure gold, and that they never knew they had been cheated.

JOHN A. SCOTT

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. It is the aim of this department to furnish teachers of high-school Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help in the classroom. Teachers are requested to send to the editor of the department short paragraphs dealing with matters of content, teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. Questions regarding teaching problems are also invited. Replies to these will be published in this department if they seem to be of general interest; otherwise they will, so far as possible, be answered by mail. It will, in general, be the policy of this department to publish all such contributions as seem of value and general interest.]

The Service Bureau

This department of the JOURNAL desires to remind teachers of the advantages offered through the Service Bureau for Classical Teachers, Frances E. Sabin, Director, Teachers College, New York City. Among the many interesting and valuable helps which may be obtained from this source the busy teacher who desires to begin the study of Greek, or to review it, will welcome *Little Studies in Greek for the Latin Teacher*, a series of well-written pamphlets of an elementary nature which may be secured at ten cents each by placing orders in advance. *How the Romans Dressed*, by Dr. Lillian M. Wilson, is the first of a series of booklets written for the younger pupils on important aspects of Roman life (single copies, 20 cents; 10 or more, 15 cents each; 20 or more, 10 cents each). *Latin Notes Supplement No. 11* (price 10 cents) provides an interesting discussion of the English textbooks which contain easy Latin narrative. The new printed list of "Material Available for Distribution" should be in the hands of every teacher; write the Service Bureau for a copy.

Recent Books

[Compiled by Joseph W. Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.]

- Aeschylus. The Eumenides* ("The Furies"). Translated into rhyming verse by Gilbert Murray. London: Allen & Unwin. Pp. 78. 3s.
- Aesop. Fables.* Illustrated by Edwin Noble. Edited by Captain Edric Vredenburg. London: Raphael Tuck. Pp. 106. 3s. 6d.
- Augustine. On the Spirit and the Letter.* Translated by Rev. W. J. S. Simpson. (Translations of Christian Literature. Series 2, Latin Texts). London: S.P.C.K. Pp. 131. 5s.
- BAIKIE, JAMES. *Egyptian Papyrus and Papyrus Hunting.* Illustrations by Constance N. Baikie. London: Religious Tract Society. Pp. 324. 10s. 6d.
- Basil, Ascetic Works.* Translated into English with introduction and notes by W. K. L. Clarke. (Translations of Christian Literature, Series 1, Greek Texts). London: S.P.C.K. Pp. 362. 12s. 6d.
- BASORE, J. W. and WEBER, SHIRLEY H. *A Book of Latin Poetry.* Selections from Nævius to the Hymn Writers. Boston: Allyn. Pp. 346.
- BERTARELLI, L. V. *Southern Italy*, including Rome, Sicily, and Sardinia. Edited with 76 maps and plans by Findlay Muirhead. London: Macmillan. Pp. 603. 15s.
- BRENDON, J. A. *How the Greeks saved Europe.* (Rambles through History). London: E. Arnold. Pp. 80. 1s. 6d.
- BREUER, H. *Kleine Phonetik des Lateinischen mit Ausblicken auf den Lautstand alter und neuer Tochter- und Nachbarsprachen.* Breslau: Trewendt und Greiner. Pp. 56. M. 2.
- BRIGGS, F. J. *The Coming of the New Testament.* London: Epworth Press. Pp. 192. 3s. 6d.
- BUCKLAND, W. W. *A Manual of Roman Private Law.* Cambridge University Press. Pp. 460. 16s.
- CANTER, H. V. *Rhetorical Elements in the Tragedies of Seneca.* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, X,1). Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Pp. 185. \$1.75.

- CAPOVILLA, G. *Menandro*. Milano: 1924.
- CHURCH, A. J. *The Odyssey for Boys and Girls, told from Homer*. New Edition. (Macmillan Children's Classics). New York: Macmillan. Pp. 308. \$1.75.
- CRUSE, AMY. *The Book of Myths*. Illustrated in color and black and white. London: Harrap. Pp. 287. 7s. 6d.
- CUNLIFFE, J. W. and SHOWERMAN, GRANT. *Century Readings in Ancient Classical and Modern European Literature*. New York: Century. \$5.00.
- DUCKETT, ELEANOR S. *Catullus in English Poetry*. Imitations, translations, reminiscences of Catullus facing the Latin text. (Smith College Classical Studies, No. 6). Northampton.
- Ennius' Annals*. Edited by Ethel M. Stuart. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 258. 7s. 6d.
- FARJEON, ELEANOR. *Mighty Men from Achilles to Julius Caesar*. For young children. New York: Appleton. Pp. 105. \$1.00.
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